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The Crowns of Pharaoh:
their Development and Significance
in Ancient Egyptian Kingship

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by

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of John Bryan Callender

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte .... *ASAE*

Société d'Égyptologie Genève Bulletin .... *BSEG*

The Egyptian Coffin Texts. A.H. Gardiner and A. de Buck, Ed. .... *CT*

Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt ....*JARCE*

Journal of Egyptian Archaeology .... *JEA*

Joournal of Near Eastern Studies .... *JNES*

Lexikon der Ägyptologie .... *LÄ*

Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung .... *OLZ*

Die altägyptischen Pyramidtexte. K. Sethe, ed. .... *Pyr.*

Studien zur Altaägyptischen Kultur .... *SAK*

Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. K. Sethe, ed... *Urk.*

Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache. A. Erman and H. Grapow, ed. .... *Wb.*

Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde .... *ZÄS*

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Sandra A. Collier

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 1996

Professor Antonio Loprieno, Chair

The Egyptian king was represented wearing more than two hundred variations on eight types of crowns. Yet, little research has been done to study their significance, and, for the most part, articles focus on the *sḫmty* and the *ḫprš*. The only dissertation on the crowns as a whole does not include the *nms*, the *ḫ3t*, the *sšd* or the *ḫprš*.

The purpose of this dissertation is to show that the evolution of royal headdresses reflects changes in the nature of kingship and that there is an association between particular crowns and specific aspects of kingship. Also, if specific headdresses are associated with particular gods, then the use such crowns by the king must identify him with these gods.

The methodology is hisorical and philological. The evolution of royal headdresses is compared to the development of kingship over time. This is accomplished by the use of a chart of development of crowns, organized chronologically and by type, covering the entire pharaonic period. This chart is then correlated with the theological aspects of

kingship as they occurred over the same time period. Then supporting texts are used to clarify and expand the historical study of the association between crowns and kingship.

It was found that the introduction of eight crown types (the *sḫmty*, the *3tf*, the *šwty*, the *sšd*, the *nms*, the *ḫ3t*, the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš*) coincide with the appearance of features of kingship. Thus, the *sḫmty* signifies the king as ruler over the entire land. The *sḫmty* is associated with Horus and reflectis the king's identification with this god. The *3tf* signifies renewal of life in the Netherworld and is associated with Osiris. When worn by the king, the *3tf* associates him with Osiris and signifies the deceased king's identification with that god. The use of the *ḫprš* designates the king as the new heir to the throne through the god Amun and the Kamutef theology.

In the overall picture, the use of such a large number of crown variants is peculiar to ancient Egypt. The manner of use of these crowns reflects characteristics of the culture. For instance, complementarism, the concept of complementary opposities, is a prominent feature of the ancient Egyptian outlook. Hence, ideas such as the sun god Re juxtaposed to the earth god Osiris, the living king juxtaposed to his ka, and the living king as Horus juxtaposed to the deceased king as Osiris, are reflected in the use of ancient Egyptian crowns.

Preface

The kings of ancient Egypt, unlike those of other cultures, both ancient and modern, are depicted in an extraordinarily large number of different crowns through Egypt's long history of pharaonic rule. Hundreds of ancient Egyptian royal crowns are represented in paintings, relief and sculpture, all of which differ in at least minor details. As many as eight basic types of crowns are represented, and these form a vast number of variants when other elements are added, such as sun disks, ram horns, uraei, and even other crowns. They vary from the most simple, such as the *nms* headdress with a uraeus, to more complex forms of the same headdress, like the *nms* with an *3tf* crown, two sun disks, ram horns, cow horns and eight uraei, each uraeus with a sun disk of its own.

Up to the present time, Egyptian royal headdresses have been studied very little on an individual level, and they have not been seriously considered as a whole in order to determine a general significance of crowns in ancient Egypt. The historical development of these headdresses as a whole has not been explored, nor has their relationship with one another.

There are many difficulties in studying Egyptian crowns. Not only is the sheer number of variations tremendous, but at first glance their use appears to be arbitrary. What is more, no texts state explicitly the purpose for, or the function of, particular headdresses. There is no mention of the materials from which they were constructed. Relatively few texts mention crowns, and these do not refer to the complex versions. Any meaning of the crown referred to is only implied in the context of the situation in which the crown was used. And in spite of the profusion of variants of crown types represented, almost no real royal headdresses have survived to the present time.

The purpose of this study is to make a comprehensive investigation of the development of crowns in ancient Egypt, and to understand their significance in relation to kingship. Given the difficulties of studying this topic, royal headdresses can only be

examined as a whole successfully by studying their development in relation to that of kingship. This will be carried out in two steps: a historical chart of development will be organized, indicating the earliest appearance of each crown variant by chronology and by complexity; the changes in the development of headdresses will be correlated with the theological aspects of Egyptian kingship as they presented themselves in history. Then the royal headdresses can be associated with specific aspects of kingship, as well as with gods with whom the pharaoh was identified.

Chapter One

Introduction

From ancient to modern times, rulers of cultures have worn some type of headdress which symbolizes their status in this role and what it means within that culture's concept of kingship. There are both similarities and differences among the styles of these crowns as well as among the materials from which they were constructed. Also, the number of different crowns worn by the ruler of a particular culture can vary. Royal headdresses worn by the pharaoh of ancient Egypt share some similarities to those of other ancient cultures, but unusual features specific to ancient Egyptian crowns stand out and reflect the particular culture of ancient Egypt.

The headdresses of cultures of the world are made from a wide variety of materials of vegetal, animal and mineral origin. Vegetal materials include leaves, straw, bark, and rushes, while animal elements comprise hides, skins, feathers, teeth, beaks and horns. Minerals include metals, as well as precious and semi-precious stones.[1]

A characteristic of ancient royal headdresses is that they usually evolved from simple to complex as they developed over time. The earliest of these, a diadem or fillet made of silk or linen, was the emblem of rule, rather than an actual crown, except in some of the Asian kingdoms. Over the passage of time, these diadems came to be decorated with pearls and precious stones. The ancient Hebrews came to wear both diadems and crowns, the latter being made of gold and precious stones. Assyrian kings wore a turban, tiered in three rows. Babylonian kings wore a tall, cylindrical headdress, ornamented with feathers and decorated with rosettes, sacred trees and mythological figures.[2] In the Roman Empire,

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1 D.P. Biebuyck and N. Van den Abbeele, *The Power of Headdresses: a Cross-Cultural Study of Forms and Functions* (Brussels: Tendi S.A., 1984), p. 32.

2 W. Jones, *Crowns and Coronations: a History of Regalia*, new ed. (Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968), p. 1-4.

kings wore a diadem ornamented with precious stones. By the fourth century A.D., in the reign of Constantine, this cloth fillet was replaced by one of gold, also decorated with precious stones. The gold diadem gradually became more elaborate through history, and it is the origin of the modern imperial crown.[3] The historical development of crowns generally, then, was a progression from simple to complex headdresses, and from fragile to long-lasting material.

The same line of development took place in Egypt as in other ancient cultures, if representations reflect the reality of the situation.[4] Earlier simple headdresses, such as the *nms* and the *sšd*, gradually become more complex with the addition of other elements, such as uraei, sun disks, ram horns and cow horns. What happened differently in Egypt, though, is that the simple forms of crowns continue to be depicted, as if they remained in use alongside the more complex ones.

The material of which royal headdresses were made likewise took a different line of development in ancient Egypt: throughout pharaonic history they appear to have continued being made of fragile materials, such as cloth, leather, and feathers.

Generally, ancient cultures had one royal headdress which was worn by the ruler to signify his position, and little change occurred as time progressed to the modern era. English kings, however, had an elaborate crown for public use, and a simple headdress which was always kept near their person.[5] Similarly in Zaire, the chief wears an elaborate cap covered with shells, seeds, horns, pieces of bone, carved wood and a boar tusk. This headdress was worn only on special occasions, and a simple cap was worn otherwise.[6] At

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3 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

4 Although paintings and reliefs show many different crowns, the actual number of these to survive until the present time is few.

5 Jones, *Crowns & Coronations*, p. 32.

6 Biebuyck and Van den Abbeele, *Power of Headdresses*, p. 68.

the other extreme, the ruler of ancient Egypt wore a large number of different headdresses. These differ not only in detail, but in basic form as well. Nine different crown types had appeared by the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (about 1500 B.C.). Six of these were already in use by the end of the Fifth Dynasty, about 900 years before. The more elaborate crowns consisted of variants of the basic types formed by adding a variety of elements in different combinations, and even by adding other crowns. The number of royal headdresses represented throughout the pharaonic period runs into the hundreds, and this is multiplied several times over if those of the Ptolemaic period are added.

Although hundreds of different crowns are represented during the thirty dynasties of pharaonic Egypt (a period of 3,000 years), less then ten actual crowns have survived. These consist of a *sšd* of king Antef from the Seventeenth Dynasty,[7] a piece of a cloth headdress from the tomb of Tutankhamun,[8] a cap on the mummy of Tutankhamun,[9] and a gold *sšd* fillet[10] from the same king's tomb. The descrepancy between the large number of different headdresses represented and the small number that have come down to us is still great, even considering the fragile materials from which they appear to have been made. This makes one wonder whether all of these different headdresses actually existed, or if many of them only appeared on representations of the king. There are hints which lead to this possibility. For instance, when one examines the crowns seen on statues of the king, only the simpler forms are seen. The fact that more complex forms of each basic type appear only in paintings and reliefs could simply indicate the difficulty of representing

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7 C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period* (New York: Praeger, 1971), pl. 82-3.

8 H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, 3 vols. (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc., 1963), v. 2, pl. 76.

9 Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1963), p. 224 and fig. 135.

10 Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 123.

complex crowns in the round. Yet this inconsistency between the actual use of simple and complex crowns appears in some temple reliefs as well: royal headdresses on the walls of the sanctuaries of the gods are simple, while those in the outer, more public halls are more complex.

Although the Egyptian king was represented wearing eight different types of headdresses, little has been done to learn the significance of these. The earliest articles study, for the most part, the *sḫmty* and the *ḫprš*. This is probably because there is more evidence for these crowns. The largest number of texts which indicate the symbolism of any crowns refer to the *sḫmty*. Hymns to this headdress identify the two portions of the crown (the *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt*) with goddesses and with the two eyes of Horus.[11]

Although comparatively few texts refer to the *ḫprš*, this crown was so frequently depicted in the Eighteeth and Nineteenth Dynasty that it stands out among other crown types. Early articles on this headdress speculate as to whether the *ḫprš* was a wig or a real crown.[12] Another view was that it was a war crown.[13] The cap crown, sometimes having circlets like the *ḫprš*, was thought to be a tight fitting cap, while the *ḫprš* was viewed as a tall form of this cap.[14] The most modern view is that the *ḫprš* developed from the cap crown. Although similar features in the appearance of the crowns had been observed earlier by Steindorff,[15] Davies went further and proved that the *ḫprš* of the Eighteenth Dynasty developed from the cap crown of earlier periods. In this study Davies traced a gradual change in shape from the cap crown to the *ḫprš* and showed that this early cap crown was

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11 Adolf Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1911), p. 11-30.

12 Fr.-W. Von Bissing, "Casque ou Perruque," *RT* 29 (1907), p. 160.

13 G. Steindorff, "Die blaue Königskrone," *ZÄS* 53 (1917), p. 60.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 64-65.

15 Steindorff, "Königskrone," p. 64-65.

also called *ḫprš*. Although these early representations did not reveal the original function of this crown, Davies found enough evidence to show that the fully developed *ḫprš* was symbolic of coronation and legitimate succession.[16]

One early article associated the *nms*, the *ḫprš* and the *šwty* worn with the *sšd* (called the Busirite *3tf*) in its interpretation of these headdresses.[17] Representations of Amenhotep I at Deir el Medineh depicted him wearing only these three headdresses. The author indicated that the *nms* signified the king as ruler over Lower Egypt and associated him with Re. The *ḫprš* represented the king as ruler of Upper Egypt under the sponsorship of Amun, while the Busirite *3tf* associated him with Ptah.[18] Although no texts directly point to this conclusion, the earliest appearance of each of these crowns associates them with their respective geographical areas. That is, the first *nms* was depicted on Djoser at Heliopolis, and the earliest *ḫprš* on Kamose at Thebes.[19] Perhaps this indicates that Amenhotep I identified himself with Amun-Re and Ptah at the same time in his cult place at Deir el Medineh. The statues in the sanctuary of the temple of King Ramesses II (who ruled 200 years later) at Abu Simbel support such an idea. There are four seated statues in the sanctuary of this temple: Amun, Re, Ptah and Ramesses II. The syncretism of the three gods is clear in a hymn from the from that time:

(IV. 22)

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16 W.V. Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown," *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 69-75.

17 A more modern study of the significance of the *nms* appeared too late to be included here: "Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*," *ZÄS* 122 (1995), p. 154-181.

18 M.B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur le fouilles de Deir el Médineh*, 26 vol. (Le Caire: Imprimerie l'institut Français, 1939), v. 16, p. 176-78.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

ḫmt pw nṯrw nbw Imn Rʿ Ptḥ nn snw.sn imn rn.f m Imn ntf Rʿ m ḥr ḏt.f Ptḥ niwt.sn ḥr t3 smn.(w) r nḥḥ W3st Iwnw Hwt-k3-Ptḥ r ḏt[20]

All gods are three: Amun, Re and Ptah. There is no equal of them. Hidden is his name in the form of Amun. He is Re in aspect. Ptah is his body. Their cities on earth are established forever: Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis for eternity.

Abubakr's *Untersuchung über die ägyptischen Kronen*, the only general study of Egyptian crowns, does not include the *nms*, the *ḫ3t*, the *ssd* or the *ḫprš*. Some of his conclusions, moreover, need to be reconsidered. Abubakr believed that the Osiris crown (the *ḥḏt* with feathers) was a variant of the *3tf* and that these two forms of the *3tf* crown were used interchangeably. With the support of texts Abubakr interpreted the *3tf* as an equivalent to the *sḫmty* in that it represented the king as ruler over Upper and Lower Egypt.[21]

Abubakr also believed the *sḫmty* literally represented the king as ruler over Upper and Lower Egypt: that is, he associated the *ḥḏt* with Horus and Upper Egypt[22] and the *dšrt* with Seth and Lower Egypt.[23] The meaning of the *sḫmty* needs to be studied in a more profound way. In summary, Abubakr examined only some of the basic crown types. Although some of the more complex variants of the basic headdresses are represented in his work, their composition was not studied.

More recent articles on individual headdresses study the cap crown, the *ḫprš*, the *nms* and the *ḫ3t*. Ertman interpreted the cap crown's function to be that of representing the king in the role of the son or priest of a deity when he wore it to perform the daily ritual before a particular god. He reached this conclusion by observing the ritual scenes in the

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[20] A.H. Gardiner, "Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus," *ZÄS* 42 (1905), p. 35.

[21] A.M.J. Abubakr, *Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York: J.J. Augustin, 1937), p. 18-19.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 56-57.

various chapels to gods in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.[24] Five years after the publication of this article, Davies demonstrated a connection between early cap crowns and the *ḫprš*.

Presently, the study of crowns needs to be focused on the following points: 1) a comprehensive study which includes all basic crown types and their complex variants organized systematically; 2) an investigation of the significance of each basic type; 3) the organization of the variants of the basic headdresses into a developmental structure which will help reveal the symbolism behind the large number of simple and complex royal headdresses; 4) the discovery of a relationship, if there is one, between the different basic crown types in order to determine the significance of the use of crowns in ancient Egypt.

There are some difficulties in connection with this endeavor. The number of different royal headdresses is tremendous compared to other cultures both ancient and modern. The use of these in particular situations can only be viewed in a very general way.[25] Although the crowns vary from simple to highly complex, no texts directly state the purpose for, or the function of, particular headdresses. Few texts mention crowns, and whatever meaning can be discovered from these is only implicit. Therefore, an additional avenue of approach must be taken. The nature of kingship in Egypt changed and became more complex throughout the long history of the culture. That is, old concepts were not discarded when new ones were added. Instead, they were added to one another in accretion layers. It only seems logical that the outward manifestations of kingship must have followed a similar pattern of development. A comparative study of the evolution of crowns with that of kingship, then, is the best way to carry out this investigation.

In ancient Egypt kingship had deep religious ramifications from the very beginning of history. As Egyptian religion developed and became more complex, so did the nature of

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24 E.L. Ertman, "The Cap-Crown of Nefertiti: Its Functions and Probable Origin," *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 64.

25 Abubakr, *Ägyptische Kronen*, p. 66-68.

kingship. Some aspects of kingship remained important from the beginning onward through the entire dynastic period, while others developed at later points in history and were added to the earlier ones. A summary of the major developments will serve the purpose of this introduction, and a more detailed study will be found in subsequent chapters.

From the start of the dynastic period, when Egypt was first united into a single country (about 3000 B.C.), the king was believed to be the living incarnation of the god Horus. By the Fifth Dynasty, about five hundred years later, the Pyramid Texts show that the dead king was identified with the god Osiris, the father of Horus. The new living king then became the new incarnation of Horus. By the same time, the king had also become associated with the sun god Re, and was called "son of Re" in his titulary.[26]

By the late Eleventh Dynasty (2061 B.C.), the king had come to be identified with the god Amun, although he continued to be the living incarnation of Horus as well. He was called "son of Amun," and he was even represented in the form of that god.[27] Almost six hundred years later, in the Eighteenth Dynasty the importance of the god Amun reached its peak, and the king's identification with him became more complex: according to the Kamutef theology, the god Amun dwelt in the physical form of the king and his presence came into each successor by means of the Kamutef theology.[28] This meant that the legitimacy of his right to rule was strengthened because he inherited the throne through Amun.

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[26] W. Barta, "Königsdogma," *LÄ* III, p. 487.

[27] L. Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Menthuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification, and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 (1963), p. 51-52.

[28] H. Jacobsohn, "Kamutef," *LÄ* III, p. 308-09.

The immortal aspect, or life force, of the king was called the ka, and this ka was represented as his double as early as the Old Kingdom (2575-2134 B.C.).[29] The ka of the king took on a greater importance over time: by the reign of Amenhotep III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the king's ka had such a significant role in kingship that an entire temple was built for the purpose of performing rituals in connection with the royal ka. There the king "became his ka," which is a process that normally occurred completely only after the king's death.[30]

In summary, all of these developments in Egyptian kingship, the living king as the incarnation of Horus, the dead king's identification with Osiris, the king as son of Re, as a manifestation of Amun, as heir to the throne through Amun, and the increasing significance of the king's ka, occurred gradually over time from the first through the Eighteenth Dynasties. Throughout this period, several types of crowns appeared at different times depicted on the king. Many variations of these headdresses appeared in representations throughout the dynastic period. By comparing the crowns and their variants to the development of kingship, one can find associations between royal headdresses and kingship and discover the significance of these crowns. Changes in the nature of kingship, then, would be expressed in the development of Egyptian crowns. This is likely because the structure and form of headdresses are a means transmitting messages connected with cosmic concepts and with relationships between beings and cosmic entities.[31]

The purpose of this dissertation, then, is to show that the evolution of royal headdresses reflects changes in the nature of kingship, the association between specific headdresses and specific aspects of kingship, and the connection between particular royal

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[29] P. Kaplony, "Ka," *LÄ* III, p. 276-77.

[30] L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 (1985), p. 251-252.

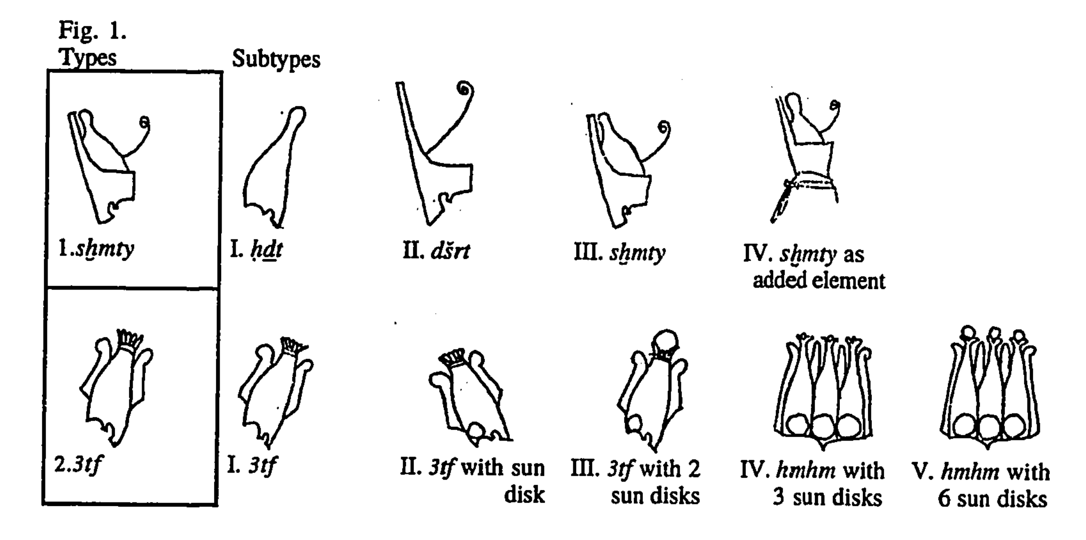
[31] Biebuyck and Van den Abbeele, *The Power of Headdresses*, p. 47.

headdresses and gods associated with kingship. Specific headdresses, moreover, are associated with particular gods, and the use of them by the king identifies him with these gods. The methodology used to prove this hypothesis is twofold: historical and philological. The historical method will compare the evolution of royal headdresses with the development of kingship over time, and the philological method will have the purpose of using texts to support, clarify and expand the historical study of the association between crowns and kingship.

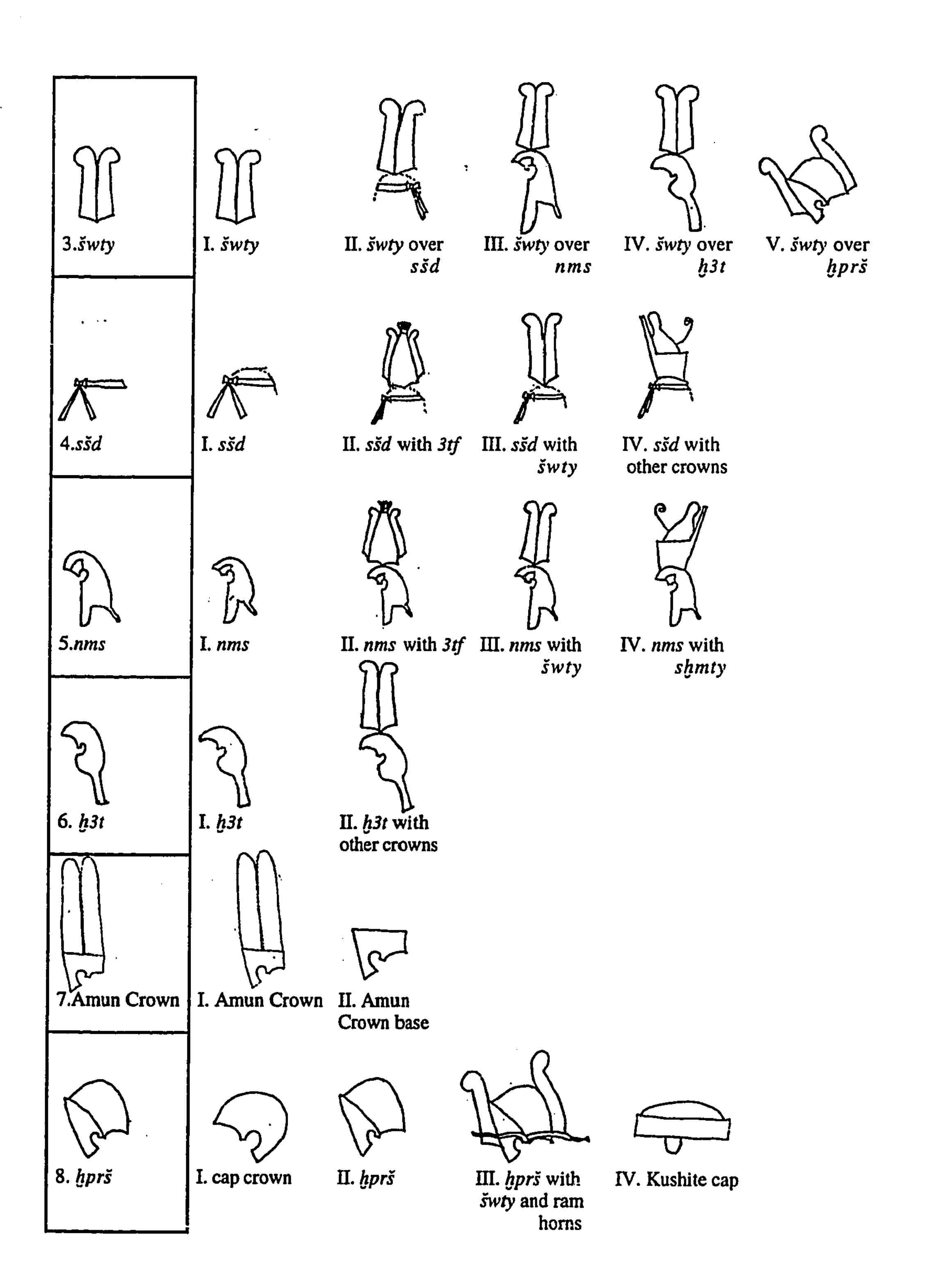
The study will commence with two steps: the crowns will be organized chronologically and by type into a chart of development; the changes in the chart will then be correlated with the theological aspects of kingship as they occurred over time.

The period covered by the chart of development includes all variants from the First Dynasty through the Thirtieth Dynasty. Development of crown types is traced thrjough the first appearance of each variant.[32] The royal headdresses on the chart are catagorized into eight types (Fig. 1), each with a set of subtypes.

Fig. 1.

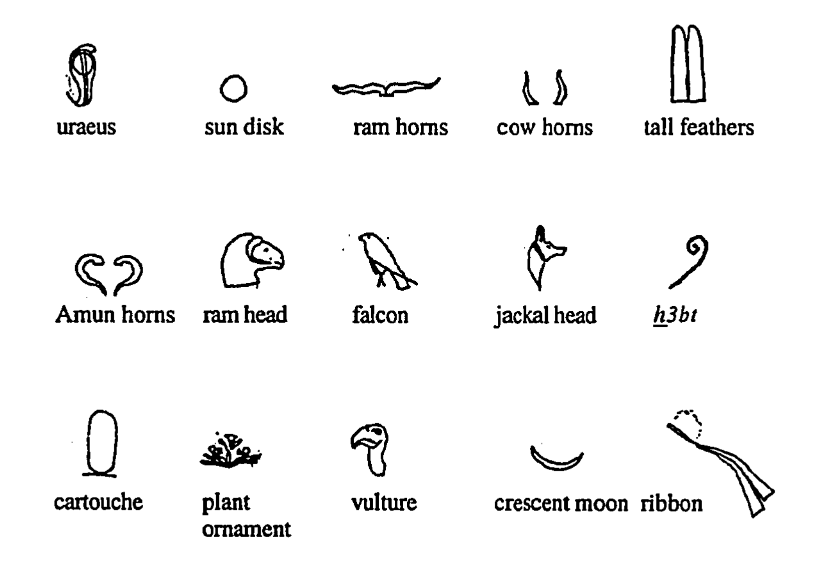


32 Distortions could occur because unpublished monuments are not included in this study, and because the archaeological evidence of some periods and places is more abundant than others.


3.šwty
I. šwty
II. šwty over sšd
III. šwty over nms
IV. šwty over ẖ3t
V. šwty over ẖprš
4.sšd
I. sšd
II. sšd with 3tf
III. sšd with šwty
IV. sšd with other crowns
5.nms
I. nms
II. nms with 3tf
III. nms with šwty
IV. nms with sẖmty
6. ẖ3t
I. ẖ3t
II. ẖ3t with other crowns
7.Amun Crown
I. Amun Crown
II. Amun Crown base
8. ẖprš
I. cap crown
II. ẖprš
III. ẖprš with šwty and ram horns
IV. Kushite cap

Types 3 through 6 consists of subtypes created by adding another crown to the original headdress. Types 1, 2, 7 and 8 have subtypes consisting of forms developed from the original crown type or of crowns related in form. Each variant occurs on the chart according to its earliest appearance. The crown variants consist of the eight basic types with various combinations of fifteen different added elements (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2.



Some types of crowns were also used as added elements over other headdresses: the *ḥḏt*, the *dšrt*, the *sẖmty*, the *šwty* and the *3tf*. Decorative features, such as striations, cross-hatches and cirlets are also treated as added elements.

Other supplementary charts of development have been made for the headdresses worn by sphinxes, by the gods Horus, Osiris and Amun, and by queens from the reign of Amenhotep III until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[33] The purpose of these supplemental charts is to expand the study in order to view crowns and kingship from

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33 On the chart of sphinxes, only those representing the king are included; queens depicted as sphinxes will be found in the chart of queens. Also, the chart of queens includes only headdresses usually worn by kings.

additional perspectives: sphinxes because they represented the sun god and the king at the same time, Horus and Amun because the king was viewed as an embodiment of these gods, and Osiris because the deceased king was identified with him. Queens are included because their cultic role in the late Eighteenth Dynasty had a special importance and they sometimes wore kingly headdresses during the Amarna period.

The sudden increase of crown variants in the Ptolemaic period was so tremendous as to be beyond the scope of this study. In order to test the hypothesis of this work in the Ptolemaic period, however, it was decided to study one crown type only: the *sḫmty*. Not only will this demonstrate the validity of the hypothesis for that period, but it will also show how, or if, the significance of the *sḫmty* in the Ptolemaic period differs from that of dynastic times.

The same steps were followed to study the *sḫmty* during the rule of the Ptolemies as for crowns of the dynastic period. A chart of development was made of the *sḫmty* in which the variants were divided into types. While the dynastic period chart was first organized chronologically by ruler and then by complexity, the crown types on the Ptolemaic chart are catagorized only by their order of growing complexity.

Chapter Two

The Double Crown and Its Components: the *ḥḏt*, *dšrt* and *sḫmty*

Description of Crown Type

The *sḫmty* was composed of two crowns joined together: *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt*. Before they appeared in their combined form, these headdresses were worn as separate crowns, and they continued to be depicted individually as well as in their combined form throughout the Pharaonic period. The three crowns will be studied together because this association will aid the study of their development and significance.

The *ḥḏt* crown is conical in shape, the end point of which is bulbous. When represented in color, it is always white. Since no actual *ḥḏt* has survived, one can only speculate on the material from which it was made. The crown may have been made of leather, felt or linen.[1]

The *ḥḏt* was always represented with a plain surface, with the exception of two examples from the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep in the Eleventh Dynasty. These are depicted at Deir el Bahri. One has a series of horizontal rings and is worn with tall feathers.[2] The second (Fig. 3) has, in addition to the rings, a band with a basket-work pattern near the top of the crown.[3]

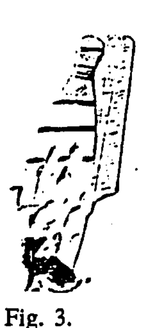


Fig. 3.

An unusual *ḥḏt* from the Eighteenth Dynasty is shown in a Sed Festival scene in the tomb of Kheruef. Here Amenhotep III is shown wearing a *ḥḏt* (Fig. 4) with a falcon in place of the uraeus.[4] This falcon has a uraeus of its own on its head.

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1 Abubakr, *Ägyptische Kronen*, p. 25-26.

2 E. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el Bahari*, 2 parts (London: Egypt Expoloration Society, 1907) v. 2, pl. 17.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. 18.



Fig. 4.

The *dšrt* crown has a cylindrical shape with a flat top, rising sharply at the back of the crown into a tall projection. A wire-like curved projection originates at the back and ends in a curl after rising at an angle toward the front of the crown. This spiral, called a *ḫ3bt*,[5] is not present on three-dimensional representations of the crown. When represented in color, the *dšrt* is always red.

No actual *dšrt* has survived, but it is thought to have been made of felt.[6] Some representations suggest, however, that this crown may have originally been made of reeds. Such a *dšrt*, represented on King Narmer of the First Dynasty, is decorated with a woven pattern.[7] Another *dšrt* (Fig. 5) which suggests a material of reeds was worn by Djoser of the Third Dynasty. This relief shows the crown with a texture of perpendicular ridges. It was meant to be a model of the king's likeness for reliefs in a temple in the eastern Delta.[8]



Fig. 5.

When the *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* were combined in the *sḫmty*, two different forms are distinguished. In one, the *dšrt* appears to enclose the *ḥḏt*, emphasizing the former crown. In the other, the *ḥḏt* seems to be overlaid on the *dšrt*, causing the *ḥḏt* portion of the *sḫmty* to stand out. Both types appear in representations early on and were observed as separate forms by Schäfer.[9] The second form was probably the only one which existed as a real crown, since it is not

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4 A. Fakhry, "A Note On the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes," *ASAE* 42 (1943), p. 492 and pl. 40.

5 *Wb.* III, p. 362.

6 Abubakr, *Ägyptischen Kronen*, p. 50.

7 *Ibid.*, fig. 38.

8 W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), v. 1, p. 59-60, fig. 37.

9 H. Schäfer, "Die 'Doppelkrone' der Pharaonen, ihr Bild und ihr Sinn," *OLZ* 35 (1932), p. 699.

possible to have a three-dimensional form of the *sḫmty* which emphasizes the *ḥḏt*. In fact, no *sḫmty* crowns of this form are ever represented in the round. The earliest two-dimensional representation of a king wearing a *sḫmty* which emphasized the *ḥḏt* is that of King Den of the First Dynasty.[10] Does this mean then that early forms of the *sḫmty* were only represented in relief or painting and not actually worn, or could it be that even in that early period the *sḫmty* was drawn sometimes to emphasize the *ḥḏt* and other times to emphasize the *dšrt*?

Although the *sḫmty* which emphasized the *dšrt* did not actually appear before the Sixth Dynasty, some publications show earlier examples because of a misconception: the single line which would change the form of the *sḫmty* which emphasized the *ḥḏt* to the other form was thought to be mistakenly left out by the ancient artists. Therefore, some modern publications corrected this "mistake," making it impossible to tell by publication drawings which *sḫmty* crowns were actually of the type which emphasized the *ḥḏt*.[11] An example of these mentioned by Schäfer is a cylinder seal with the name of Chephren on which the Horus falcon wears the form of the *sḫmty* with the *dšrt* emphasized. There are two examples of a serekh, one of Niuserre[12] and the other of Khufu,[13] that have a Horus falcon wearing this type of *sḫmty*.

Schäfer also noted that the way in which both types of the *sḫmty* were used in a scene at Abu Simbel indicates that the form of the crown was not arbitrarily chosen, but was instead used to stress one of the Two Lands of Egypt: the *sḫmty* on the south wall

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10 W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos*, 2 vols.(London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), pl. 14.

11 Schäfer, "Die 'Doppelkrone," p. 698.

12 R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, 8 vols. (Genève: Editions de Belles-lettres, 1972), v.3, pl. 39.

13 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 2.

emphasized the *ḥdt* and indicated Upper Egypt, and in a parallel scene on the opposite, north, wall, the *sḫmty* highlighted the *dšrt*, symbolizing Lower Egypt.[14]

Some scenes from the Eighteenth Dynasty follow the same pattern and support Schäfer's point. One of these (Fig. 6) depicts Amenhotep III with each type of *sḫmty*. On these headdresses the *sḫmty* is worn as an added element over the *nms*.[15]

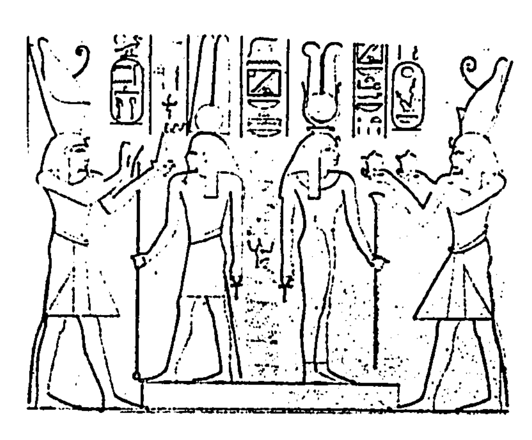


Fig. 6.

By the Eighteenth Dynasty in the New Kingdom, representations of the *sḫmty* had become quite elaborate in comparison to those of earlier periods. Sometimes these headdresses had unusual added elements. A *sḫmty* worn by Ramesses II (Fig. 7) of the Nineteenth Dynasty is an example.[16] This *sḫmty*, which has the *dšrt* overlaid on the *ḥdt*, is worn on top of the *nms*. *šwty* flank the crown, and wedged on each side between the *ḥdt* and the *šwty* feather is a pair of jackal heads, each one facing outward. Resting on top of the *ḥdt* and supported by the two backs of the jackal heads is a sun disk. There is a tiny figure of the god Ptah holding a *w3s* sceptre in place of the uraeus normally placed on the brow.



Fig. 7.

Ramesses II is shown wearing another unusual *sḫmty* as well.[17] This crown is set on top of the head so that the king's wig, with a *sšd*

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14 Schäfer, "Die 'Doppelkrone,'" p.700-701.

15 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 71.

16 L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (Glückstadt: J.J.Augustin, 1969), p. 37.

17 Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, 2 vols. (Le Caire: Centre de documention et d'étude sur l'ancienne Egypte, 1968), v. 2, pl. 41.

headband, is clearly depicted. A uraeus is attached to the *sšd*, and a second uraeus is also adjoined to the *sḫmty* itself.

Terminology of Crown Type

Although there are many Egyptian terms for the *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* crowns (nine for the former and eleven for the latter) not all will be investigated here. Since these two crowns are being studied in relation to one another and as components of the *sḫmty*, rather than as separate entities in themselves, only the terms relevant to this approach will be considered. That is, each of these terms for the *ḥḏt* crown is associated with a term for the *dšrt* crown. There are three such words for each crown, and these will be treated as pairs. The first pair, *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*, indicate colors, the second set, *wrrt* and *wrt*, indicate a character of greatness, and the third, *šmc.s* and *mḥw.s,* indicate the two halves of the country of Egypt.

Both *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* are attested in the Pyramid Texts and are determined by the crown itself or by the crown over a *nb* sign.[18] The use of these terms in texts indicate these crowns as personifications of goddesses:

ḏd-mdw pr(y) ḥḏt 'm.n.s wrt 'm.n ns ḥḏt wrt nn m33.ti ns[19]

Words spoken: the white crown going forth, it devoured the great one. The tongue of the white crown devoured the great one, and the tongue was not seen.

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[18] *Wb.* III, p. 211; *Wb.* III, p. 493.

[19] *Pyr.* 243.

ḏd-mdw irḫ N. pn mwt.f n ḫm N. *pn mwt ḥḏt sšp.t wmtt ḥr.t-ib Nḫb nbt pr-wr nbt t3 smi nbt t3 št3 nbt sḫt wḥ'' nbt int ḥtp.tiw ṯmst dšrt nbt idbw dpw*[20]

Words spoken: this N. knows his mother; this N. is not unknowing of his mother, the white crown, the shining one, the thick one, who dwells in El Kab, lady of the great house, lady of the proclaimed land, lady of the hidden land, lady of the marshland of the fishermen, lady of the valley of the satisfied ones, the red one, the red crown, the lady of the lands of Buto.

The terms appear in opposition to each other as well:

wṯs.i ḥḏt ḫ'i.i m dšrt[21]

I wear the white crown, I appear with the red crown.

w3ḏt is another term for the crown of Lower Egypt. It means "green one" and, like *dšrt*, appears opposite *ḥḏt*:

iḫ' N. *m nsw ḳ3y* N. *m Wp-w3wt šsp n.f* N. *ḥḏt w3ḏt ḥḏ n* N. *m '.f*
3ms n N. *m ḏrt.f*[22]

May N. appear as king (of Upper Egypt); may N. be lifted up as Wepwawet after N. has received for himself the white crown and the green crown, the mace of N. on his arm the club of N. in his hand.

W3ḏt has two features in common with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt: ḥḏt* is determined by the *ḥḏt* over a basket sign, and *w3ḏt* by the *dšrt* over the same sign; *w3ḏt* indicates the name of a color.

Wrt and *wrrt* are tied together by their meaning, "great,"[23] but the double *r* in *wrrt* shifts the meaning to "to become great".[24] These terms are attested as names for the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Pyramid Texts:

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20 *Pyr.* 910-11.

21 *Urk.* IV, p. 366.

22 *Pyr.* 1374.

23 *Wb.* I, p. 332 and 333.

24 Abubakr, *Ägyptische Kronen*, p.30.

ḏd-mdw h3 N. pw ‘ḥ‘ ir.k wnḫ n.k irt Ḥrw šsp n.k sy ḥr.k dmi.s r.k dmi.s r iwf.k pr(y).k im.s m33 ṯw nṯrw ḏb3t im.s iṯi n.k wrrt ‘3t ḥr Psḏt ‘3t Iwnw[25]

Words spoken: Ho, it is N. Stand up, put on yourself the eye of Horus. Take it to yourself, in order that it may join to you, that it may join to your flesh. May you go forth with it in order that the gods see you adorned with it. Take the great *wrr.t* crown among the great Ennead of Heliopolis.

šm‘.s and *mḥw.s*, attested as terms for Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt respectively indicate names for the crowns of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt by the Middle Kingdom. They appear opposite one another in a text from the Seventeenth Dynasty:



ḫ‘i.n nsrt ‘3 pḥty nfr ḥr m šm‘.s mḥw.s sḥḏ.t.sn[26]

The uraeus has appeared, great of strength, beautiful of face when the crown of Upper Egypt and the crown of Lower Egypt have illumined it.

There are four terms for the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, all of which reflect its dual nature: *sḫmty*, *w3ḏ.ti*, *wrt ḥk3.w* and *nbti.* All these are attested as names for the Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Pyramid Texts, except for *w3ḏ.ti*, which appears in the Middle Kingdom. The divine associations of the double crown are indicated by their determinative signs. *Sḫmty* is sometimes determined by two divinities.[27] The term itself occurs in a word play with *sḫm*:

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25 *Pyr.* 844-845. Also see p. 27 for *Pyr.* 196a.

26 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 18.

27 *Wb.* IV, p. 250.

ii.t m ḥtp nbt sḫm sḫmt Sbk šdt ḥr-ib šdt Ḥrw im.s sḫmt ib m m-ʿ nṯrw m rn.s pwy n(y) sḫmty[28]

The lady of power has come in peace, through whom Sobek of Crocodilopolis is powerful in the midst of Crocodilopolis, in which Horus is powerful of heart together with the gods in this its name of *sḫmty*.

The three remaining terms likewise have a dual significance and are associated with divinities: *w3ḏ.ti* indicates the two protective goddesses Nekhbet and Buto, as well as the double crown and is determined by two plants, or by two plants and two uraeus serpents; *wrt ḥk3.w* can also designate the goddesses Buto, Mut, Isis or Sekhmet;[29] *nbti* is determined by a vulture and a cobra over *nb* signs, tying the term to the protective goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt:

smn(.w) n.s nbti r ḥ3t.s
itj.s ḫʿ.w m šmʿ.s mḥw.s ḫnm.w n.s[30]

The crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt have been established for her on his brow, having seized the crowns in the form of the Crown of Upper Egypt and the Crown of Lower Egypt which are joined with him.

Development of Crown Type

In order to study the development of the *ḥdt*, the *dšrt* and the *sḫmty* in relation to one another, each of these crowns will be considered as a subtype of the *sḫmty* (Fig. 8).

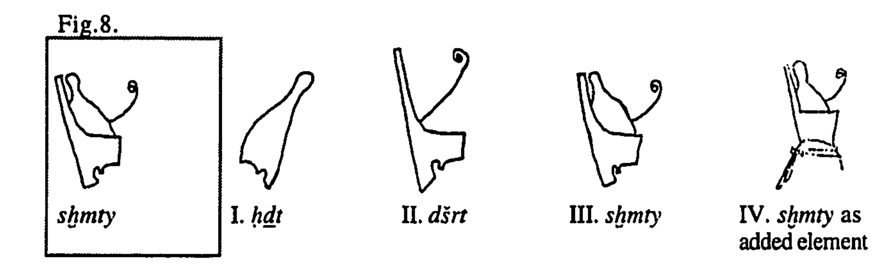
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28 Erman, "Hymnen," p. 41.

29 *Wb.* I, p. 328.

30 *Urk.* IV, p. 251.

Fig.8.



The first three types appear in the First Dynasty, but the fourth, in which the *sḫmty* is worn as an added element over another headdress, is not found until the Eighteenth Dynasty. The earliest example of this type of *sḫmty* is depicted on Amenhotep II in the form of a sphinx. It is worn over a *nms* and has a uraeus.[31] Later in the same dynasty, two new variants are shown on Amenhotep III, the second of which represents the king as a sphinx.[32]

From the First through the Eighteenth Dynasties, there is only one variant of type III, worn by both the king and the god Horus. From the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Dynasty, there are eleven variants of Type IV (the *sḫmty* as an added element), but only three of the *sḫmty* worn directly on the head (Type III). Perhaps this indicates that there was an emphasis on the importance and use of the combined form of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt by the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Generally Type IV *sḫmty* variants of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties are more elaborate than the first three catagories. These variants (with three or more added elements) from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward consist primarily of the *sḫmty* worn as an added element over another crown.[33] The second largest number of elaborate variants of a

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31 See Sp. #3.

32 See *nms* #43 and Sp. #7.

33 See *sšd* #30, and #33, *nms* #41 and Sp. #7.

type occurs with the *dšrt*.[34] There are none, however, for *ḥḏt* or *sḫmty* crowns worn directly on the head in the New Kingdom.

The majority of headdresses over which the *sḫmty* is worn as an added element consist of the *nms*[35] and the *sšd*.[36] The number of variants of each is almost equal, and two of the variants worn over the *nms* depict the king as a sphinx.

Unlike the *sḫmty*, the *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* crowns are never worn as added elements over other headdresses. Also, they do not have more elaborate variants as time progresses. Perhaps this is because they are more significant in their combined form than they are as separate crowns. While the *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt* indicate the geographical areas of Upper and Lower Egypt, the combined form of these in the *sḫmty* represents more: the totality of the country and kingship over a united land.

The Late Period has a different pattern. The only new variants which occur at all are two during the time of Ethiopian rule: one of these is a *ḥḏt* worn with two uraei, and the other is an elaborate form of the *dšrt*.[37] This *dšrt* is worn with an *3tf* crown and a sun disk, as well as ram horns and a band of uraei.

Significance of Crown Type

The greatest significance of the *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt* lies in their relationship to each other and in their use as the components of the *sḫmty*. This is clearly expressed in the way these crowns were used as elements added to other headdresses: the *sḫmty* was used as an added element, but not the *ḥḏt* or *dšrt*. Also, the meaning of the crowns of Upper and

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34 See *dšrt* #6 through #8.

35 See *nms* #15, #41, #43, and Sp. #3 and #7.

36 See *sšd* #'29 through #32.

37 See *ḥḏt* #9 and *dšrt* #9.

Lower Egypt when considered as a unit is apparent in several characteristics of these crowns: their identification with the two parts of the country of Egypt, their place as the earliest crowns worn by the pharaoh, their possession of divine power, and their reflection of an outlook that pervades ancient Egyptian culture. The first three of these concepts are well known, but the last has only been touched upon so far by scholars.

The *ḥḏt*, *dšrt* and *sḫmty* were the earliest crowns worn by the king over a united Egypt. As such, they signify the beginning of Egypt as a unified whole. The earliest representations of the *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt* are those worn by Narmer, the first king in the First Dynasty on the Narmer Palette.[38] On one side of this symbol of a united land, the king wears the *ḥḏt*, and on the other the *dšrt*. The earliest king depicted wearing a *sḫmty*,[39] however, is Den, the fifth ruler in this dynasty.

Another feature peculiar to these crowns is that they were thought to be in and of themselves imbued with divine power. The associations between the various terms for the crowns and the goddesses Nekhbet and Uto has already been pointed out (see p. 20-21). What is more, the term *wrt ḥk3.w* for the double crown symbolizes another aspect of the divinity of the crowns, that the invisible power of the crowns was worshipped as the goddess Weret-hekau:[40]

ṯwt nṯr sḫm.ti m nṯrw nb pr(y).n irt m tp.k m wrt-ḥk3w ḥḏt šm3wt pr(y).n irt m tp.k m wrt-ḥk3w dšrt mḥwt[41]

You are a god; you are powerful among all gods. An eye has gone forth from

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[38] A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pl. 21 and 22.

[39] Petrie, *Abydos*, pl. 14.

[40] I. Nebe, "Werethekau," *LÄ* VI, p. 1221.

[41] *Pyr.* 1624.

your head, like the one great-of-magic, the Upper Egyptian white crown.
An eye has gone forth from your head, like the one great-of-magic, the
Lower Egyptian red crown.

The Egyptian form of this name for the goddess has a determinative sign of a *ḥḏt* or a *dšrt* over a *nb* sign.[42]

The act of putting on the double crown reflected the divinity inherent in the crowns as well as the unity between this divine power and the king. This is clear in the Speech of the Putting On of the Double Crown:

di ḫtm.t w'‘t ḥr snwt.s mri.sny m ḏt.k m rn.sn n(y) mrt rsy mḥtt šw tfnt ḫkr.wy.fy [43]

Cause one piece to be sealed on its companion, in order that they desire to be in your body in their names of south and north *mrt* goddesses, Shu and Tefnut, the two ornaments.

This power was absorbed by the king, as is well known from his ritual swallowing of them in the Pyramid Texts:

iw wnm.n N. *dšrt iw ‘m.n* N. *w3ḏt*
wšb N. *m sm3w s33w* N.
ḥtp.tw N. *m ‘nḫ m ḥ3tyw ḥk3w.sn isṯ*
fiw N. *nsb.f sbšw imyw dšrt*
iw.f w3ḏ.f iw ḥk3w.sn m ḫt.f[44]

N. has eaten the Red Crown, N. has swallowed the green one.
N. is the one who feeds on the lungs of the wise ones;
N. is satisfied with living on hearts and their magic, truly.
N. is disgusted licking the things which stir up nausea which are in the Red Crown.
He contents himself when their magic is in his belly.

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42 *Wb.* I, p. 328.

43 Erman, *Hymnen*, p. 43.

44 *Pyr.* 410-11.

Furthermore, these crowns were praised and their help was sought by the king:

ḏd-mdw hi nt hi inw hi wrt
hi wrt ḥk3w hi nsrt
di..ṯ š't N. *mi r š't.ṯ mi*
di.ṯ snḏ N. *pn m mi 'nḏ.ṯ*
di.ṯ kit N. *pn mi kit.ṯ*
di.ṯ mri.tw N. *pn mi mri.tw.ṯ*
di.ṯ 'b3.f ẖnt 'nḫw di.ṯ 'b3.f ẖnty im3ḫw
di.ṯ rwd ds.f r ḫftyw hi inw pri n.ṯ im.f pr(y).n.f im.ṯ
msi n.ṯw ḫt wrt sšr n ṯw ḫtwt
n ṯw is Ḥrw šn m s3 irt.f[45]

O Crown of Lower Egypt, O Crown of Upper Egypt
O great one, O great-in-magic, O uraeus.
May you put the terror of N. like the terror of you.
May you put the fear of this N. like the fear of you.
May you put the respect of this N. like the respect of you.
May you put the love of this N. like the love of you
Let him have command of the living; let him have command of the spirits.
Place the strength of his knife against his enemies.
O crown of Lower Egypt; you have gone forth from him, he has gone forth from you.
A great thing has given birth to you.
You are not Horus who suffered in protection of his eye.

The divine power inherent in the *sḫmty* was even accessible to the common people. It was represented as part of offerings in the tomb and, as such, granted to the deceased

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45 *Pyr.* 196-198.

royal status in the hereafter. An example is depicted in a papyrus from the Twenty-first Dynasty. The *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*, along with the *nms*, the *ḫprš* and other symbols of royal power, are depicted behind the officiating goddess *Ḥtp.t-Ḥr.* [46]

Also, amulets in the shape of the *sḫmty* began to be worn by the end of the Old Kingdom. Such amulets, made of gold or carnelian, have been found in tombs from the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate periods.[47]

The crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, then, came into use as the country took on its political unity. The association of the *sḫmty* with the god Horus is clear from the many representations of Horus wearing this crown and variants of it.[48] Also, the close connection between the *sḫmty*, the eye of Horus and the king are expressed in the Pyramid Texts:

Wsir N. dnn.k Ḥrw irt.f m ḥ3t.k m rn.s n wrt-ḥk3w Wsir N. ḫ'.ti m nsw-bit

Osiris N., Horus has put his eye in your forehead, in its name of great-of-magic.
Osiris N., you have appeared as king of Upper and Lower Egypt.[49]

There is a deeper meaning, however, to be seen in the associations of these crowns with one another, one which reflects a basic feature of the ancient Egyptian world outlook, particularly in matters of religion and kingship. It is the concept that each totality exists out of an opposing pair completing one another. Nothing exists without its opposite. This concept, best defined by the term complementarism, can be seen in the Egyptian view of

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46 C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten, MÄS* 35 (1976), p. 116.

47 G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, 2 vols. (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928), p. 13. and pl. 93.

48 For example, see Ho. #2, #3 and #21.

49 *Pyr.* 1795.

the creation of the world, as well as in the linguistic realm.[50] Opposites complement each other appear in the way the creation of the world is represented. In the beginning, according to the Heliopolitan theology, it comes from oneness: Shu, god of air, and Tefnut, goddess of moisture, were produced from the androgenous deity Atum; the earth god Geb and the sky goddess Nut were the descendants of Shu and Tefnut. Another complementary pair is seen in the male and female character of primeval gods: while Atum was androgenous, Amun had a female counterpart, the goddess Amaunet. The concept is also expressed in the epithets, "father of fathers," and "mother of mothers."[51]

Some ancient Egyptian concepts, such "all," "knowing," and "being" include both the positive and negative:

ḫm mi rḫ rḫ st[52]

Both the ignorant and the knowledgeable know it.

[*Wsir*] *nb 'nḫyw ir r3 ḥry m ntt iwt.t*[53]

[Osiris], lord of the living makes a speech,
who has authority over what is and what is not (=everything).

This same viewpoint is present in aspects of kingship, such as the royal titulary and the change of power from one ruler to another. The two names of the king which were placed in cartouches represent totality of kingship in the same manner. These consist of his *nsw-bity* name and his *s3 R'* name. The former of these associates the ruler with kingship over

50 E. Otto, "Dualismus," *LÄ* I, p. 1148.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 1149.

52 *Urk.* IV, p. 368.

53 *Urk.* IV, p. 545.

the Two Lands. The latter is the king's birth name, or personal name.[54] In other words, the two names of his five name titulary which are placed in cartouches are those which justapose kingship on an impersonal or theoretical ideal with that of the individual living king.

This kind of complementarism is also represented in the two separate ceremonies which took place when royal power changed hands. These were the ascension to the throne and the coronation. The ascension to the throne was the ceremony by which the new king assumed power the morning following the death of the previous king. Hence, the day it took place was determined by the event of the king's death and the beginning of the new king's rule as an historical event.[55] The ascension to the throne, then, expressed the real, secular change of government as well as the temporal aspect of the change of power.

The coronation, on the other hand, expressed the executive power on the divine level of the ending of old kingship and the beginning of new kingship. It occurred on one fixed day of the year only, at the time of a new beginning of a cycle of nature. During the Middle Kingdom, this was the time of a planting festival, New years Day. In the New Kingdom, the ceremony took place on the day of the re-appearance of the moon, at least with the coronation of Tuthmosis I, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep IV and Ramesses II. Perhaps as far back as the Middle Kingdom, it coincided with the Festival of Osiris, which took place in the last month of *3ḫt*, when the inundation of the Nile had receded and new plants were beginning to sprout.[56] The coronation of the new king, then, took place in

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54 P. Kaplony, "Königstitulatur," *LÄ* III, p. 643.

55 The period of time between the succession to the throne, or accession and the coronation was thought to be filled with dangers, which were overcome though the act of coronation. The accession took place at sunrise so that there would be harmony between the beginning of the new reign and the start of the new day under the rulership of the sun god Re, the father of kings. For instance, there are separate dates given for each at Medinet Habu, one for the accession and another for the coronation of Ramesses III; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 102-103.

association with the rejuvenation of Osiris (= the rejuvenation of the previous deceased king in the Netherworld).

A totality expressed in terms of opposities which complement one another, then, is prevalent in Egyptian kingship. It is likewise reflected in all aspects of the *sḫmty*: the composition, the color, the terminology and the symbolism. As noted earlier, the *sḫmty* was sometimes represented with the *dšrt* emphasized, and other times with the *ḥḏt* in the forefront. When these two forms were used together in two dimensional art, the king was depicted twice in opposing situations, once wearing each of the two forms of the *sḫmty*.[57]

Some modern interpretations of this crown and its components reflect complementarism. Abubakr associated the *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt* with Horus and Seth in this manner. Horus and the *ḥḏt* were tied to Upper Egypt through myth.[58] The *dšrt* and the god Seth were associated with the color red; Seth was god desert, or storms, while the *dšrt* had negative characteristics as well (see *Pyr.* 410-411 on p. 26).[59]

It is possible that the *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* represent male and female fertility, according to Wildung's interpretation of these crowns. The crown of Upper Egypt, along with the beard worn by the king, has a shape of the Imiut fetish, which symbolizes renewal potential because it represents the Kamutef. Wildung also said that the term *miswt* for this crown is linguistically associated with *m3s(ti)* for animal and *m3st(i)* for animal skin, as well as *mis(w)* for horned cattle.[60] The crown of Lower Egypt, on the other hand, can be linked with female cattle and female fertility. The term *ẖ3bt* for the spiral on this crown is

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56 The actual coronation had to coincide with a new beginning in nature's cycle, such as New Year's Day; *Ibid.*, p. 103.

57 The *sḫmty* was sometimes determined by a *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* facing each other; *Wb.* IV, p. 250.

58 Abubakr, *Ägyptische Kronen*, p. 33.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

60 D. Wildung, "Zur Formgeschichte der Landeskronen," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, W. Westendorf Festschrift, 2 vols. (Göttingen: F. Junge, 1984), v. 2, p. 973-974.

connected with *ḫp3*, which means "umbilical." The designation of the umbilical cord for birth, existence and life potential is well known in Egyptian texts such as the Coffin Texts. Moreover, there is a double spiral is the determinative of the word *ḥmt*, which means "uterus." Also, the sign for this word conforms to the natural shape of the uterus of a cow. Wildung pointed out, however, that the oldest attestation of the uterus form with the spiral comes seven hundred years after the oldest red crown (on the Narmer Palette). Wildung further said that the political interpretation of the duality of the *sḫmty* is secondary. What is primary is the life-extent duality of male and female from which association birth, life and continuation of generations is produced.[61]

There are problems with Wildung's thesis, however. The observation that the *ḥḏt* together with the beard have the same shape of the Imiut fetish is a modern thought: no ancient texts express this idea. Also, the idea that the *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* express male and female is not true linguistically, since both terms have female characteristics: the terms for both crowns are feminine, and both crowns are personified as goddesses. The pyramid texts, moreover, are explicit about the female characteristics of the *ḥḏt:*

mwt.k sm3t wrt ḥr-ib.t Nḫb ḥḏt ʿfnt 3wt šw.ti.wy nḫ3ḫ3t mnḏ.wy snḳ.s ṯw n wḏḥ.s ṯw[62]

> Your mother is the great wild cow who is in the midst of el-Kab, the white crown, the royal headcloth, the one whose two feathers are long, the one whose two breasts are pendulous; may she nurse you; may she not wean you.

Another modern interpretation of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt that indicates complementarism interprets the *ḥḏt* as a sense of "life" and the *dšrt* as "life potential." According to this view, the *dšrt* means life potential in connection with the two

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61 Wildung, "Landeskronen," p. 977-980.

62 *Pyr.* 729.

terms for this crown: *dšrt*, red, and *w3ḏt*, green. "To be green" means to be "fresh" or "new." It is Re who must make *w3ḏ* the dead and who is called by Hathor so that when she is *w3ḏ* the king is *w3ḏ*.[63] What occurs here is an interaction between "red" and "green." Red represents the sun disk, which is born anew every morning and its scorching heat, while green signifies the fields and the green plants. Green is the promise of life and red the potential destruction of life.[64]

Thus complementarism is clearly seen in the ancient terms for the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt and in their political significance as well, and scholars have found modern interpretations for these crowns which express the same concept. Whether these particular modern interpretations reflect the truth of Egyptian thought cannot be ascertained, but one thing is certain: complementarism is pervasive in the symbolism of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The ancient Egyptian complementary outlook symbolized in the *sḫmty* crown occurs on several levels. These levels of meaning are reminiscent of another feature of Egyptian culture: multi-layered symbolism (Table 1). All of what the *sḫmty* means is

Table 1. Dualism and the *sḫmty*

crowns:	*ḥdt*		*dšrt*
geography:	Upper Egypt		Lower Egypt
goddesses:	Nekhbet		Buto
power:		*sḫmty*	
invisible divinity:		*Wrt-ḥk3.w*	
kingship:	*nsw*		*bit*

embodied in this. Several levels are indicated in both the secular and divine spheres. On the first level, the terms for the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt have the meaning of colors which have opposite connotations; at the next level, they indicate the names for the

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63 H. Roeder, *Mit dem Auge Sehen: Studien zum Horusauge und den Begriffen sḫm und b3w*, Dissertation (Heidelberg: Universität Heidleberg, 1990), p. 305.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

two halves of the country; at yet another level, they symbolize the goddesses who are the protectrices of Upper and Lower Egypt; finally, they are the divine power imminent in the crowns themselves, as well as the totality of kingship over Egypt.

Lastly, it is interesting to note how the *sḫmty* crown and the Egyptian concept of complementarism and totality come together in the god Atum. The traditional crown worn by this god is the *sḫmty*, and his name is derived from the Egyptian word *tm*, which means "to be complete."[65] The divine pairs produced by him in the creation of the Ennead represent a totality composed of complementary opposites: the male and female couple Shu and Tefnut and their descendants.[66]

Conclusion

The significance of the *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt* are best seen when they are studied in relation to one another and in their role as components of the *sḫmty*. It is these three crowns, the *ḥḏt*, *dšrt* and *sḫmty*, that were the earliest worn by the king in the First Dynasty. Although other crown types appeared later, these continued to be worn for the entire dynastic period, from the First through the Thirtieth Dynasties.

No *ḥḏt*, *dšrt* or *sḫmty* has actually survived, so the material from which they were made is unknown and can only be surmised. When represented in color, the *ḥḏt* is always white, and the *dšrt* is always red, even in the combined form of the *sḫmty*. All are without decorative patterns, except for three *ḥḏt* variants worn by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep in the Eleventh Dynasty.

Some representations of the *sḫmty* show the *ḥḏt* enclosed by the *dšrt*, while in others the *ḥḏt* appears to be overlaid on the *dšrt*. The former is by far the most common of

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65 H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), p. 215.

66 S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, trans. by A.E. Keep (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 261-270.

the two forms, and the latter occurs only in two-dimensional representations. The *sḫmty* in which the *ḥḏt* is enclosed by the *dšrt* was probably the only form in which the real crown occurred. Sometimes the king is depicted twice in the same scene, the two figures opposite one another, each wearing one of the two forms.

Among the many terms for the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, three for the crown of Upper Egypt match complementary ones for the crown of Lower Egypt. The four terms for the double crown also represent their dual nature, their divine power and their personification as goddesses.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty the *sḫmty* began to be worn as an added element over two other headdresses, the *nms* and *sšd.* The *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* as separate crowns, however, were never worn over other headdresses, except during the period of Ethiopian rule.

The significance of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt is well-known in regard to their symbolism of the two halves of the country, their personnification as goddesses, their inherent divine power and the worship of them as divine beings. From a larger perspective, however, all of the aspects of the symbolism of these crowns reflect two characteristics of ancient Egyptian culture: complementary opposites and multi-layered symbolism. Modern interpretations of these crowns, as symbols of male and female fertility and as symbols of life and life-potential, also reflect the concept of complementarism.

Chapter Three

Crowns and the Netherworld: the *3tf*, *šwty* and *sšd*

Similarities in the form of the *3tf* and the *šwty* suggest that they are associated in their significance. Also, one sees like patterns as variants of these headdresses appear chronologically. The components of the most basic forms of the *3tf* and the *šwty* headdresses, as well as those of their more complicated variants, are alike except for one major feature: the *3tf* has a center portion which is in the form of a cone-shaped bundle of reeds. Most variants of the *3tf* and *šwty*, moreover, are not worn directly on the head: they are instead often worn on top of a wig which is enclircled by the *sšd*, or over other headdresses. It is likely that their use and significance are connected as well. These headdresses best studied in connection with one another because the headdress with which the *3tf* and the *šwty* are most often worn is the *sšd*, and because the *sšd* appears to have mortuary associations like the *3tf*. Although each of these headdresses has its own special significance, the association of them in the study of that significance will make their individual meaning more clearly understood.

Description of the *3tf*

The *3tf* crown consists of a conical cap which appears to be made up of plant stems bundled together and is flanked by two curved feathers. The plant-stem center portion is exactly like the headdress worn by the *mww* figures which began to be represented in tombs at the same time that the first *3tf* was depicted on the king. These figures (Fig. 9) were priestly dancers who appeared at rites associated with the transport of the coffin. They are represented as

Fig. 9.

humans with headdresses made of papyrus stalks. The *mww* figures performed a ceremonial dance and were associated with regeneration in the Netherworld, in particular with the boundary that separates this world from the Netherworld.[1]

Until now, the *3tf* and the Osiris crown (the *ḥḏt* with *šwty*) have been treated by scholars as different forms of the same crown because of the similarity in shape and the associations with Osiris which they share. This view originated with Abubakr,[2] and other later scholars followed his opinion.[3]



Fig. 10.

In the Old Kingdom, the *3tf* had no sun disk. The earliest example (Fig. 10) is from the Fifth Dynasty in a representation of Sahure from his tomb at Abusir.[4] It is worn with ram horns and cow horns on top of a wig which is encircled by a *sšd*. Two *3tf* headdresses worn by Tuthmosis III in the Eighteenth Dynasty[5] are reminiscent of the Old Kingdom *nms* worn by Khafre on his famous statue in the Cairo Museum. Each of these has a falcon embracing the crown at the back. Both crowns are alike, except that one has added cow horns.

The most elaborate *3tf* (Fig. 11) is one from the tomb of Kenamun in the reign of Amenhotep II.[6] The same crown is mentioned in a coronation text of Hatshepsut from

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1 H. Altenmüller, "Muu," *LÄ* IV, p. 271. The earliest representations of *mww* figures is dated to the Old Kingdom in the mastaba of Nebkawhor; see S. Hassan, *The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Hor*, fig. 9. By the Middle Kingdom these figures appeared more frequently in private tombs, e.g. that of Antefoker; see N. de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1920), pl. 21-22.

2 Abubakr, *Altägyptische Kronen*, p. 18-19.

3 H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Wien: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917), p. 65; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1952), p. 57-58; Ch. Strauss, "Kronen," *LÄ* III, p. 814.

4 L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1910), v. 2, pl. 38.

5 See *3tf* # 5 and #6.

6 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 63.

Karnak: this elaborate variant is used as the determinative of the word *3tf* and is referred to as the crown of Re:[7]



Fig. 11.

ḏd-mdw s3t M3ʿt-k3-Rʿ smn n.t ḫʿw Rʿ ʿ.w imyw tp.f ẖnm.f m tp.ṯ ḥtp.f ḥr wpt.ṯ [8]

Words spoken: daughter of Re, (I) establish for you the Crown of Re, the great one which is on your head. May it be joined with your head, may it be satisfied on your brow.

The *3tf* here is worn over a *nms* and has ram horns, cow horns and two sun disks. At the top of the crown is a falcon wearing another sun disk.



Fig. 12.

The *hmhm* resembles three *3tf* crowns joined together and was always worn over another headdress. An elaborate variant (Fig. 12) can be seen on the well-known golden throne of Tutankhamun.[9] Here the king wears a wig encircled by a *sšd*. On top of the wig is a band of uraei, each of which wears a sun disk. The crown itself has six sun disks and six uraei, which also wear sun disks.

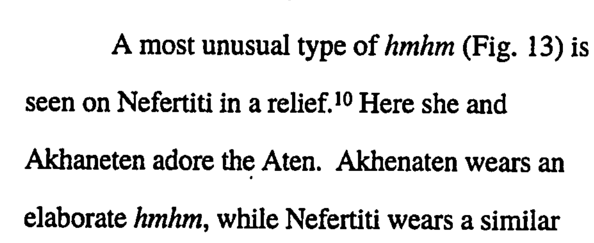


Fig. 13.

A most unusual type of *hmhm* (Fig. 13) is seen on Nefertiti in a relief.[10] Here she and Akhaneten adore the Aten. Akhenaten wears an elaborate *hmhm*, while Nefertiti wears a similar headdress, but with only two *3tf* crowns joined together instead of three. Here Nefertiti's

7 P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout a Karnak*, 2 vols. (Le Caire: Institut francais d'archèologie orientale, 1977), v. 1, p. 249.

8 *Ibid.*

9 I.E.S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1976), p. 24.

10 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 91.

entire headdress appears to be a diminutive form of the *hmhm*, with a diminutive pattern of added elements as well.

Terminology of the *3tf*

3tf is the only term which refers specifically to the crown consisting of the *mww* headdress with a pair of curved feathers. It is earliest attested in the New Kingdom and has four variant forms of the *3tf* for determinatives: the *3tf*; the *3tf* with ram horns; the *3tf* with ram horns and two uraei; the *3tf* with ram horns, two uraei and a sun disk.[11] The determinative *3tf* sign often has ram horns, but more complex forms occur as well. In the phrase

nb 3tf m Nn-nswt,[12]

lord of the Atef crown in Heracleopolis

the sign consists of an *3tf* with ram horns, two sun disks, and two uraei wearing sun disks. Yet another complex determinative for the *3tf* occurs in a coronation scene of Hatshepsut on a block from Karnak. Here, the sign consists of an *3tf* with ram horns, cow horns, two sun disks, and two uraei wearing cow horns and sun disks. At the top of the crown is a falcon wearing a sun disk.[13] The word for which this *3tf* is the determinative, however, is not *3tf*, but *ḫ‘.w R‘*. This term is first attested in the Pyramid Texts as a designation for Re:

mi irt nṯrw i3w m ḥsfw ḫ‘.w R‘ pr(y).f m 3ḫt[14]

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[11] *Wb.* I, p. 23.

[12] M.S. Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire* (Le Caire: l'Institute francais d'archéologie orientale, 1930), p. 88.

[13] Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, v. 1, p. 249.

[14] *Pyr.* 2077.

Like the gods making adoration at the approach of the appearance of Re when he goes forth on the horizon.

In the representation of an earlier part of this ceremony, Hatshepsut is crowned with a simpler form of the *3tf*. Here, the word *3tf* has a determinative consisting of an *3tf* with ram horns.[15] The *ḫ'.w R' 3tf* is worn over a *nms*, while the *3tf* is worn directly on the head. In the coronation ritual, then, the pharaoh was crowned at one point with an *3tf*, and later with another, more complex form of the *3tf*, which was called the crown of Re.[16]

Hmhm refers to a headdress which looks like three *3tf* crowns joined together. Like the *3tf*, it was most often set on top of ram horns and worn over another headdress. The term *hmhm* is first attested in the Twenty-first Dynasty but did not occur with a crown determinative until the Greek period. It means "roar," "war cry," or "scream."[17] The determinative here is a seated man, and there is no evidence that its meaning relates to the significance of the crown, although the crown itself was worn as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty .[18]

Development of the *3tf*

Variants of the *3tf* are divided into five subtypes (Fig. 14). The first three are classified according to whether they have of no sun disk, one sun disk, or two sun disks. The fourth and fifth types consist of *hmhm* crowns, likewise classified according to sun

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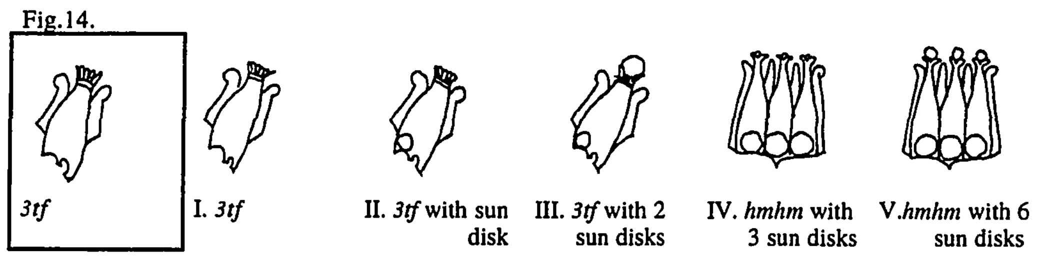
15 Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, v. 1, p. 246.

16 Other types of crowns are called *ḫ'.w R'* as well. For instance, in a text from Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, the *dšrt* is said to be worn by Re: "presented to thee is this red crown, which is upon the head of Re;" E. Naville, *Deir el-Bahri*, 6 vols. (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901-08), v. 3, p. 57-58.

17 *Wb.* II, p. 490-91.

18 See *nms* #11.

disks at the upper and lower ends of the crown. The *hmhm* appears to have developed from the *3tf*, so both crowns are considered as part of the same basic type, although their names, and probably their significance, are different.



Only ten out of the thirty-five variants of the *3tf* are worn directly on the head. When variants of the *3tf* are placed on top of other headdresses, the largest number are those added to the *nms*: fourteen out of thirty-five variants.[19] The second largest number of variants (seven) are worn over the *sšd*.[20]

The *hmhm* was always set on top of ram horns and worn over another headdress. Its form shows it to be developed from the *3tf*, although this is not necessarily true for its significance. The *hmhm* developed (Table 2) from the *3tf*, because it appeared later and its form is similar to the *3tf* but more complex, and its patterns of added elements are alike.

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[19] See *nms* #11 through #20, and #23.

[20] See *sšd* #8, #9, #10 and #13.

Table 2. Devleopment of the *hmhm* from the *3tf*.

1-4th Dyn.		
5th Dyn.	*3tf* (*sšd* #8)	
6-17th Dyn.	/	\
18th Dyn.		
- Amenhotep II	*3tf* (*nms* #48) + sun disk + ram horns	*3tf* (*nms* #11) + 2 sun disks + ram horns + cow horns
	|	|
- Akhenaten	*hmhm* (*nms* #55) + 3 sun disks + ram horns + cow horns	*hmhm* (*ḫ3t* #5) + 6 sun disks + ram horns + cow horns

More elaborate *3tf* variants occurred later in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, but the comparatively few new *hmhm* variants found from the same period were considerably less elaborate than those from the reign of Akhenaten. That is, the peak of complexity of *3tf* variants occurred in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, but that of *hmhm* variants took place specifically during the reign of Akhenaten.

There are patterns of added elements in the development of the *3tf* (Table 3) and the *hmhm* (Table 4).

Table 3. Pattern of added elements for the *3tf*.

dynasty	ram horns	cow horns	sun disks	uraei
1-4th	0	0	0	0
5th	1	1	0	0
6-17th	0	0	0	0
18th				
-pre Tuth. III	3	1	8	2
-pre Amen. III	7	3	18	13
-pre Amarna	2	1	3	0
-Amarna	0	0	0	0
-post Amarna	2	0	0	0
19th	12	3	30	25
20th	10	4	43	34
21-30th	3	1	6	11

Table 4. Pattern of added elements for the *hmhm*.

dynasty	ram horns	cow horns	sun disk	uraei
1-17th	0	0	0	0
18th				
-pre Tuth. III	0	0	0	0
-pre Amen. III	0	0	0	0
-pre Amarna	0	0	0	0
-Amarna	2	2	29	14
-post Amarna	2	0	21	9
19th	0	0	0	0
20th	1	0	11	5
21-30th	3	0	5	6

Although all *3tf* and *hmhm* variants have ram horns, cow horns are found much more frequently on *3tf* variants. There is an sudden increase (Table 5) in the number of sun disks and of uraei in both *3tf* and *hmhm* variants from the Amarna period through the Twentieth Dynasty.

Table 5. Uraei and sun disks on the *3tf* and the *hmhm*.

dynasty	*3tf* - sun disks	- uraei	*hmhm* - sun disks	- uraei
1-17th	0	0	0	0
18th Dynasty:				
-pre Tuth. III	8	2	0	0
-pre Amen. III	18	13	0	0
-pre Amarna	3	0	0	0
-Amarna	0	0	29	14
-post Amarna	0	0	21	9
19th Dynasty:	16	25	0	0
20th dynasty:	31	34	11	5
21-30th Duynasties:	6	11	5	6

Significance of the *3tf*

Early scholars (see Ch. 1, p. 7) considered the *3tf* (*mww* headdress with *šwty*) (Fig. 15a)and the Osiris crown (*hḏt* crown and *šwty*) (Fig. 15b) to be variants of one another and to be interchangeable in both form and function. Several points, however, support the idea that these two crowns had separate forms, clearly distinct from one another. The pattern of development of the *3tf* shows this. The Osiris Crown

Fig. 15 a. b.

was worn directly on the head, while the *3tf* was most frequently worn over another headdress. Also, the *hmhm*, developed from the *3tf*, always has the *mww* headdress between the *šwty*.

The *3tf* and the Osiris crown likewise had each a different function and significance. This is apparent in coronation scenes and texts, and in how the *3tf* is used in comparison with the Osiris crown in New Kingdom mortuary temples. Scenes of the coronation and their accompanying texts depict a true *3tf*, and never an Osiris crown in its place.

In a coronation scene of Hatshepsut on a block from Karnak, she is depicted with a true *3tf*, not the Osiris crown.[21] This *3tf* has ram horns and two sun disks. The accompanying text also shows a true *3tf* as the word's determinative.[22] (This determinative appears to be exactly the same headdress, although the sun disks are not visible):

ḏd-mdw in Imn-R' M3't-k3-R' s3t mrit smn.i n.ṯ 3tf m tp.ṯ ẖ'i.ṯ im.f n rẖyt dw3 ṯn psḏt[23]

Words spoken by Amun Re: Maat-kare, beloved daughter, I establish for you the *3tf* crown on your head, in order that you appear with it to the common people and in order that the Nine Bows adore you.

This can also be seen when one compares the frequency of use of these crowns by the king and by the god Osiris, as well as the situations in which they were worn. In particular the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos, with its chapels for various gods, including the deified Seti, points to this (Table 6).

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21 M.P. Lacau,"Sur un des blocs de le reine provenant du III pylone de Karnak," *ASAE* 26 (1926), pl. 5 and Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, v. 2, pl. 11.

22 Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, v. 1, p. 246 and 255.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

Table 6. The *3tf* and the Osiris Crown in the Seti I temple at Abydos.

Chapels	- Osiris -		- Seti I -	
	Osiris Crown	*3tf*	Osiris Crown	*3tf*
Osiris Complex	33	1		
Chapel of Osiris	12	5	0	0
Chapel of Seti	Osiris not depicted		0	4
Chapel of Isis	Osiris not depicted		0	0
Chapel of Horus	Osiris not depicted		0	0
Chapel of Amun-Re	Osiris not depicted		0	0
Chapel of Re-Horakhti	Osiris not depicted		0	0
Chapel of Ptah	Osiris not depicted		0	0
Second Hypostyle Hall	17	4	0	5

Osiris is depicted wearing his typical Osiris Crown much more frequently than the *3tf*. The king, on the other hand, was never shown wearing the Osiris Crown, and the only chapel in which he is shown wearing the *3tf* is the one dedicated to himself. In the chapel of Seti, the sacred boat of Seti has on the prow and stern a head of the king wearing the *3tf*.[24] This *3tf* has two sun disks, ram horns and 4 uraei with sun disks.[25]

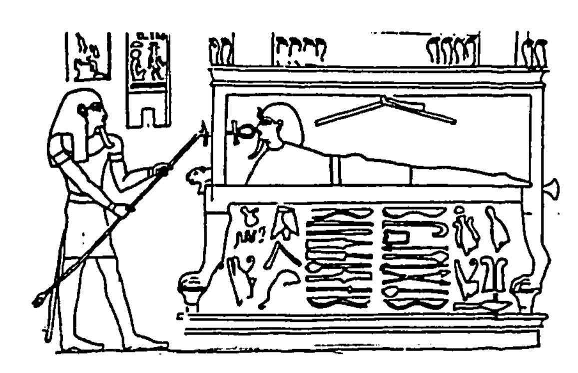


Fig. 16.

In several royal tombs there are scenes which depict the king's bier (Fig. 16) with the insignia of kingship, including crowns, stored below. Among these are both the *ḥdt* and the *3tf*. The fact that both of these crowns are represented and that the *3tf* has a *mww* center portion and not a *ḥdt* confirms the point that the *3tf* and the *ḥdt*

[24] A.M. Calverley and A.H. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), v. 2, pl. 35.

[25] Interestingly enough, the sacred boat in the chapel of Osiris has on its prow and stern the head of Osiris wearing the *šwty*, a headdress usually worn by Horus. The *šwty* has ram horns and a sun disk; *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 7.

with feathers were separate crowns. Also, the mention of both headdresses side by side in the same text further supports this:

i R' iw ḏd.n ḫftyw ipf nw Wsir N. nḥm.sn ḥdt '3t tpj(t).k 3tf.w imiw wp.t.k[26]

O Re, those enemies of Osiris N. have spoken when they seize the great white crown which is on your head, and the *3tf* crown which is on your brow.

The *3tf* crown, then, is a separate crown, distinct from the *ḥḏt* with feathers, or the Osiris Crown. Its use in the chapel of Seti in his temple indicates that this particular crown is associated with renewal of life. Similar evidence in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri supports this view. HereHatshepsut is depicted in the Hathor chapel wearing an *3tf* while the Hathor cow licks her hand.[27] The ritual performed in this shrine was called the Festival of the Second Birth, and the purpose indicated in the text is regeneration:

snk.n.i ḥmṯ mnḏ.i 'k.sn n.ṯ m 'nḫ w3s sn.i 'ṯ nsb.i ḥ'.k snk pri m r3.i ms.(w) sm3wy.(w) r' nb ḥr '.wy it.ṯ Imn rdi t3.w nb ḥr ṯbwt.ṯn[28]

I have suckled your majesty with my breast. They have entered you with life and fortune. I kiss your hand, I lick your flesh, the tongue coming from my mouth. Your are born and renewed every day on the arms of your father Amun, who places all lands under your sandals.

The *3tf* has already been interpreted as a crown of kingship over a united Two Lands, a significance similar to that of the *sḫmty*.[29] The basis of this view is that the feathers represent the sovereignty of Lower Egypt because they are associated with the god Andjeti. The center portion signified Upper Egypt. Later scholars, such as Bonnet agreed with this point. Bonnet believed that the *3tf*

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26 *CT* VI, p. 277-78.

27 Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, v. 13, pl. 94.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Abubakr, *Ägytische Kronen*, p. 18.

originated as the insignia of the union of the Two Lands in the primordial sense.[30] The *3tf* may have symbolized a being in the pre-historic era, because it was worn by the goddess of el Kab. On the one hand, she is the wearer and protector of the *ḥḏt*, but who was also known as the one with the two feathers:[31]

> *in mwt n(y).t* N. *sm3t wrt ʿ3wt šwty*[32]
>
> Is it the mother of N., the great wild cow with two long feathers?

The view that the *3tf* was an equivalent to the *sḫmty* is logical and was supported with texts by Abubakr. This point is certainly true if the *ḥḏt* with feathers is a variant of the *3tf*, because the *ḥḏt* is associated with Upper Egypt. If the *3tf* and the Osiris crown are separate headdresses with different functions, and if the *3tf* is associated with renewal and the Netherworld, then this headdress represents kingship over Egypt in the Netherworld, as the *sḫmty* does in this world. The *sḫmty* means kingship in the realm of the real world of the living, and the *3tf* indicates the king as ruler over Egypt in the Netherworld, of the dead. The texts used by Abubakr to support his view that the *3tf* expresses kingship over Upper and Lower Egypt are all mortuary texts, thereby referring to the deceased king. These were written in the New Kingdom, at a time when the *3tf* was worn frequently in mortuary temples in rooms associated with the king's rebirth in the Netherworld. In these texts, the *3tf* is mentioned in association with either the *sḫmty*, or with the *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*:

> *ḥḳ3 igrt nb 3tf ḳ3 ḥḏt ḥr-tp m pt m t3* [33]
>
> (Osiris), lord of the Netherworld, lord of the *3tf* crown, having lifted the white crown, foremost in heaven and on earth.

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30 Junker, *Onurislegende*, p. 57-58.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

32 *Pyr.* 1566a.

33 From the Tomb of Nefer-secheru; Abubakr, *Ägyptische Kronen*, p. 23.

In a text on the great sphinx stela of Amenhotep II, the *3tf* is followed by the *sḫmty*:

ḫʿ.w m nsw ḥr st wrt hnm.n.f. wrty-ḥk3w snwy sḫmty m tp.f 3tf Rʿ m wp.t.f [34]

Appearing as king on the great throne after he united himself with both Magic Powers and the *sḫmty* has combined itself on his head. The *3tf* Crown of Re is on his head.

The *sḫmty* is first named, then the *3tf*, and then the components of the *sḫmty*, after which continues a list of other headdresses with which the king is crowned.

The coronation texts on the great and small sphinx stele of Amenhotep II mention the *3tf* with several kinds of determinatives and associate this crown with Re as well. On the great stela *3tf* is written with a determinative of a ram head wearing an *3tf* with ram horns, two uraei and a sun disk.[35] On the small stela, "*3tf*, crown of Re," is written with an *3tf* over a basket, followed by a seated god with a sun disk on his head.[36] Perhaps this is a reflection of the union of Osiris and Re which developed during the New Kingdom. In coronation texts, the *3tf* is the only crown among those listed which is designated as *ḫʿ.w Rʿ*.

What can so far be said of the *3tf* is that it is a separate headdress distinct from the Osiris crown, that it is associated with renewal of life, and that it represents the king as ruler over Egypt in the realm of the Netherworld. The *3tf* is also connected with Osiris. This is shown by his epithet, *3tfti*, "one crowned with the *3tf*."[37] Another text indicates him as wearer of the *3tf*:

[34] *Urk.* IV, p. 1277.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Urk.* IV, p. 1286.

[37] *Wb.* I, p. 23.

Wsir ḫnty-imnty wnn-nfr m3ʿ-ḫrw nṯr ʿ3 3tf ḥ3t[38]

Osiris, foremost of the westerners, Wenenefer, vindicated of claim, great god, chief of the *3tf*.

This crown , however, was probably not originally connected with this god. This text is from the Nineteenth Dynasty, while the king was first depicted with the *3tf* in the Fifth Dynasty.[39]

Just as the *sḫmty* is associated with the living king, the incarnation of Horus, the *3tf* is connected with the deceased king as Osiris, ruler of the Netherworld. How, then, can the *3tf* be called "crown of Re"? There are a number of indications which associate the *3tf* with Re. In the scenes of coronation of Hatshepsut from Karnak, the queen is crowned with the *3tf* in scene 6, then in scene 7 by a variant of the Amun Crown called *ḥnw*. In scene 8, she receives another, more complex, variant of the *3tf*, which is here called *ḫʿ.w Rʿ*, and it is determined by an exact replica of the crown in the accompanying scene.[40] It appears here that the *3tf ḫʿ.w Rʿ* may have a more specific meaning and one addtional to that of the *3tf*, one that asscoiates the *3tf* with Re in addition to Osiris. On the great sphinx stela of Amenhotep II the *3tf* crown of Re is contrasted with the *sḫmty*, as if *ḫʿ.w Rʿ* were merely an epithet of the *3tf*.

sn n(y) sḫmty m tp.f 3tfw Rʿ m wpt.f[41]

The scent of the *sḫmty* on his head, the *3tf* crown of Re on his brow.

The same idea is found on the small sphinx stela of this king:

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38 *Urk.* IV, p. 965.

39 See *sšd* #8.

40 Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, v. 1, p. 246-249.

41 *Urk.* IV, p. 1277.

sn n(y) sẖmty m tp.f 3tf R' m wpt.f ḥr.f ẖkrw m šm3w.s mḥw.s[42]

The scent of the *sẖmty* on his head, the *3tf* crown of Re on his brow, his face adorned with the crown of Upper Egypt and the crown of Lower Egypt.

Some versions of Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead have a myth which associates the *3tf* with Osiris and Re, and which may go back as far as the Ninth Dynasty:

There was a cry of acclamation in Henen-nsu, [a cry] of joy in Naref, when Osiris appeared [as king] in the place of Re; he had inherited his throne and was ruling the Two Lands and all the people - ....[I] would that you give me the panoply of the Universal Lord," said Osiris to Re,"for then Seth would respect me when he saw my appearance as yours and there would come to me all people, commoners, citizens, noblemen - all - who would see how you have established my respect and created my authority." Now it semed good to Re to do all that he had said, whereupon Seth came and he cast his face upon the ground when he saw what Re had done for Osiris, ... Osiris had much suffering in his head from heat of the Atef Crown which [he wore] that men and gods should respect him.
And when Re returned in the evening to see Osiris in Henen-nesu he found him sitting in his house with his head angry and swollen from the heat of the Atef Crown. Then Re proceeded to let out the pus and blood and Re said to Osiris "Behold you are freed from the blood and the pus which were hurting your head...."[43]

This myth implies an association between Re and Osiris. The Coffin Texts indicate a syncretism between the two gods:

ir R' ḥtp.w m Wsir Wsir pw ḥtp.w m R'[44]

If Re is satisfied in the form of Osiris; it is Osiris who is satisfied in the form of Re.



The same concept is expressed in a relief with an accompanying text in the tomb of Queen Nefertari:

Wsir ḥtp.(w) m R' R' pw ḥtp.(w) m Wsir[45]

Osiris is satisfied as Re. It is Re when he satisfied as Osiris.

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42 *Ibid.*, p. 1286.

43 R.T.R. Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959), p. 136-37.

44 *CT* IV, p. 197.

45 E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. by J. Baines (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pl. 1.

The *hmhm* is a development of the *3tf* crown in form but not necessarily in function. While its form and development are clearly associated with the *3tf*, its symbolism and relation to kingship are difficult to determine. The *hmhm* is a more complex form of the *3tf* and appeared at a later time. The earliest *3tf* is that depicted on Sahure[46] of the Fifth Dynasty. The earliest example of a *hmhm* are those variants worn by Akhenaten[47] of the Eighteenth Dynasty. While the *3tf* occurs in the specific context of renewal of the king in the Netherworld, as seen in the chapel of the deified Seti I at Abydos and in the chapel of Hathor in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri, the *hmhm* does not appear to be worn in a specific context. Unlike the *3tf* no evidence shows that the king received it at his coronation. There are fewer variants of the *hmhm* and new variants (Table 7) of the crown appear much less frequently and over a shorter time span than the *3tf*.

Table 7. Time span for new variants of the *3tf* and *hmhm*.

Dyn: 1-	5	18 -	20-	25-	- 30
	3tf------- --------- ----------	---------	--------- --------*3tf*		
		hmhm---	---*hmhm*		

There are some indications, however, that the *hmhm* is related to the *3tf* in significance. The earliest example of the *hmhm* represented is from the reign of Akhenaten, and the most elaborate variants are from this king's reign.[48] Also, the fact that Nefertiti is twice represented with a diminutive version[49] shows that this crown may have had a special significance for Akhenaten. This king is often shown wearing the *hmhm* but almost never the *3tf*, so perhaps during his reign the *hmhm* was a replacement for the *3tf*. Aldred holds this opinion when he comments on a relief fragment depicting Akhenaten wearing the *3tf*:

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46 See *sšd* #8.

47 See *hmhm* #1 and *ḫ3t* #5.

48 See *nms* #55 and *ḫ3t* #5.

49 See Q. #16.

> This is the only representation known to the writer in which Akhenaten appears wearing the single *atef* crown - a signal refutation of the idea that this headdress is peculiar to Osiris, a god whom the King pointedly ignored. It is likely that the relief showed Akhenaten in a ceremony connected with a jubilee of the Aten, perhaps the first such celebration, to judge fthe syle of the King's figure and the early form of the Aten's names inscribed on his body.[50]

Also, a text from the Twentieth Dynasty supports such a relationship between the *3tf* and the *hmhm*. Here, Ramesses III is depicted at Medinet Habu crowned by Amun Re with a *hmhm*, but the crown referred to in the accompanying text is written ideographically as an *3tf*:

> *Imn-R' 3tf nsw mn(.w) ḥr wpt.f*[51]
>
> Amun-Re, with the royal *3tf* established on his brow.

It is interesting that the god Amun wears the *hmhm*. In the reign of Ramesses II, Amun[52] is represented at Karnak wearing his typical Amun Crown combined with a *hmhm*, to which are added ram horns, cow horns and an Amun horn.[53]

Description of the *šwty*

The *šwty* consists of a pair of feathers, which may be straight or curved. The former probably represent feathers of the falcon, while the latter most likely depict those of the ostrich. The feathers on the *3tf* are always the curved type, but those of the *šwty* occur in both forms. The curved, ostrich feathers were worn with ram horns and cow horns by the gods Andjeti, Osiris, and Tatenen. The straight, falcon feathers were attributes of the

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50 C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), p. 100.

51 H. Nelson, *Medinet Habu* , 8 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930-1970) v. 8, pl. 612.

52 See Amun #3.

53 H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: the Wall Reliefs* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1981), pl. 36.

god Horus and were part of the traditional crown of Amun. They were also sometimes worn with ram horns and cow horns.[54]

The earliest example of the *šwty* headdress (Fig. 17) is from the reign of Snefru in the Fourth Dynasty.[55] It consists of straight feathers and is worn with ram horns and cow horns. A later and more elaborate example of this headdress[56] is seen in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Fig. 18). It consists of tall feathers worn over a *sšd*. It also has ram horns, cow horns, a sun disk and two uraei wearing Osiris Crowns.

By the New Kingdom, the *šwty* had become very elaborate and was often worn with the *nms*. For example one *šwty* from the Nineteenth Dynasty (Fig. 19) worn with the *nms* had ram horns, a sun disk, two uraei with sun disks, and another sun disk flanked by two uraei.[57]

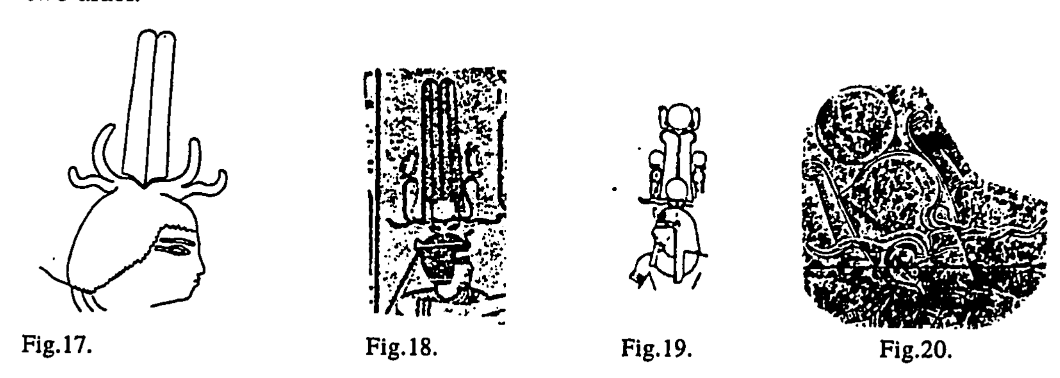


Fig.17. Fig.18. Fig.19. Fig.20.

A number of *ḫprš* variants from the New Kingdom included feathers and ram horns combined in a way which suggests a *šwty* added to a *ḫprš*, rather than a *ḫprš* with separate elements. The earliest such variant (Fig. 20) is from the Seti I temple at Abydos. *šwty*

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[54] I. Grumach-Shirun, "Federn und Federkrone," *LÄ* II, p. 143.

[55] A.H. Gardiner, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2nd Ed. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1952), pl. 2, n. 5.

[56] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 147.

[57] R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster Wilts., England: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1981), p. 45.

flank the *ḫprš*, on top of which is a sun disk.[58] The crown also has ram horns, a ribbon and an Amun horn.

The similarity between variants of the *3tf* and those of the *šwty* have led to a point of confusion, for the *šwty* was often worn with ram horns and sun disks, like the *3tf*. Early scholars referred to the *šwty* as an *3tf* in at least two instances.[59]

Terminology of the *šwty*

Like the *3tf*, the term *šwty* has several variants of the headdress as determinatives. In coronation texts, moreover, it appears that the curved ostrich feathers and the straight falcon feathers are used interchangeably in the determinative sign. Also, like the *3tf*, feathers appear twice in some coronation texts, called by a different term and with a different variant of the headdress as the determinative. On the small sphinx stela of Amenhotep II, the word *šwty* is determined by two straight feathers:

ibs ꜥnḫ šwty wrty m tp.f[60]

May the *ibs* live, the great *šwty* are on his head.

On the great sphinx stela of this king, however, the *šwty* is determined by two curved feathers:

ibs šwty wrty m tp.f[61]

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58 Calverley, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 44.

59 Breasted referred to a crown worn by Snefru as an *3tf*, although the representation shows that this headdress consists of two feathers with ram horns and cow horns; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), p. 75. Also, Bruyère referred to a similar headdress worn by Amenhotep I in reliefs at Deir el Medineh as the "Busirite *3tf*"; Bruyère, *Deir el Medineh*, v. 16, p. 176. He implies that the *šwty* is another type of *3tf*, one associated with Andjeti and Lower Egypt. He refers to the *3tf* itself as the "Thinnite *3tf*," in connection with Osiris and Upper Egypt. The ancient Egyptians, however, never referred to the *šwty* as any kind of *3tf* crown.

60 *Urk.* IV, p. 1286.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 1277.

The *ibs*, the two great feathers are on his head.

Also, *ibs* is determined by a ram head wearing two curved feathers with ram horns. In the previous text, however, *ibs* is determined by a cloth headdress. This probably means that the first example refers to a cloth headdress with feathers, and the second to a particular variant of the *šwty*. Then, one could translate the above texts:

The living *nms* with *šwty* headdress is on his head.

and

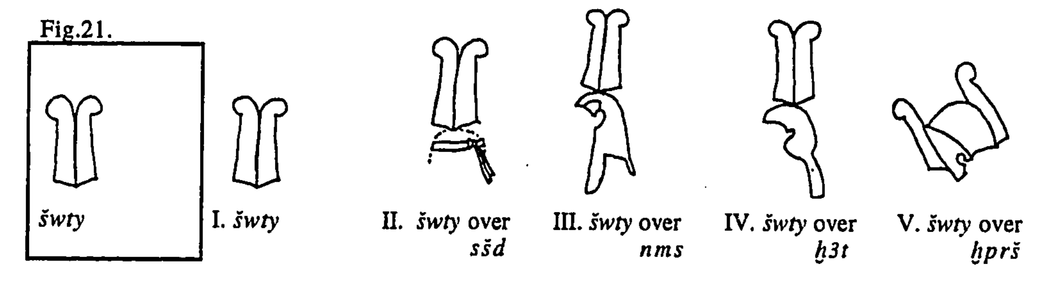
The *šwty* with ram horns headdress is on his head.

ibs, then must be a general term for headdress.[62] For example, the term occurs also in the coronation text of Hatshepsut on a block from Karnak, but here it is determined by a wig with a *sšd*.[63]

Development of the *šwty*

The *šwty* is divided into subtypes (Fig. 21) according to which headdress they are worn with: by itself; the *sšd*; the *nms*; the *ḫ3t*; the *ḫprš*.[64]

Fig.21.



62 The earliest attestation for *ibs* is the Greek period, where it has a cloth headdress for a determinative; *Wb.* I, p. 64.

63 Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, v. 1, p. 242.

64 In the *šwty* chart the curved ostrich feathers are called *šwty*, and the straight falcon feathers are referred to as tall feathers.

The earliest example of a *šwty* is from the Fourth Dynasty, in the reign of Snefru. Like the *3tf*, the earliest *šwty* to be worn with a sun disk occurs in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Tall feathers and *šwty* appear to be used interchangeably or arbitrarily with the same pattern of added elements until the Eighteenth Dynasty. From then on the *šwty* regularly appear with the ram horns and sun disks in a pattern like that of the *3tf*, while the tall feathers then appear only as part of the Amun Crown. There are only two exceptions. One is worn by Akhenaten[65] and consists of the *nms* with four tall feathers, which are characteristic of the headdress worn by the god Shu. The other is a complex crown worn by Ramesses II.[66] This headdress consists of a *sšd* with tall feathers and uraeus, to which are added ram horns, cow horns, a sun disk and two uraei, both of which wear the Osiris Crown.

The *šwty* is worn most often with the *nms* (thirteen variants out of thirty-four) and the *sšd* (ten). As with the *3tf* and *hmhm*, there is a pattern (Table 8) in the use of added elements.

Table 8. Pattern of added elements for the *šwty*.

dynasty	ram horns	cow horns	sun disks	uraei
1-3th	0	0	0	0
4th	1	1	0	0
5th	1	1	0	0
6-17th	0	0	0	0
18th				
-pre Tuth. III	1	3	3	3
-pre Amen. III	2	1	2	2
-pre Amarna	5	2	9	10
-Amarna	0	0	0	1
-post Amarna	0	0	0	0
19th	18	8	44	59
20th	6	0	5	10
21th	0	0	0	0
22th	1	0	2	3
23-24th	0	0	0	0
25th	1	0	1	2
26-30th	0	0	0	0

---

65 See *nms* #5.

66 See *sšd* #19.

Like the *3tf*, the *šwty* has few variants before the Eighteenth Dynasty. These occur in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, and no sun disks are included. As with the *3tf*, there is a sudden increase in the use of sun disks and uraei from the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Dynasties.

All *šwty* have ram horns by the Eighteenth Dynasty, except for headdresses which have tall feathers instead of *šwty*.

Significance of the *šwty*

The earliest king represented wearing feathers (tall feathers, rather than *šwty*) is Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty. Although worn traditionally by various dieties, Andjeti and Tatenen in particular, the feathers are associated with Horus when worn by the king. The *šwty* and the *sẖmty* are the most frequently worn headdress of Horus, and Osiris is represented wearing feathers in the New Kingdom as well. An Eightenth or Nineteenth Dynasty stela from Abydos associates the *šwty* added to the *sšd* with Horus:

w'b.n[.i] tp Ḥrw šsp.n.f sšd.f i smn.[.i] n.f šwty.f[67]

I have purified the head of Horus when he has received his *sšd*. O I have fastened for him his *šwty*.

The Nineteenth Dynasty Ramesseum Papyrus directly associates the wearing of the feathers by the king with the god Horus:

ḫpr.n in(y).w sḫmwy w3ḥ.w šwty n nsw Ḥrw pw i'b.f ẖrwy Stẖ sḫm.f[68]

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67 G. Daressy, "Remarques et notes," *RT* 11, p. 90-91.

68 K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu Altägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1944), p. 195.

It happened that two sceptres were brought and the two *šwty* were placed on the king. It is Horus when he unites the testicles of Seth, when he is powerful.

A Twenty-second Dynasty text from the Festival Hall of Osorkon also connects the combined *sšd* and *šwty* with Horus:

ḫ'i Ḥr šsp.n.f šwty nt niswt [69]
Horus appears after he has received the two feathers of the king.

Association of the *3tf* and *šwty*

The *šwty*, and the *3tf* show similarities in form and development. Their form consists of, respectively, either a pair of feathers, one *mww* headdress between the *šwty*, or three *mww* headdresses, each surrounded by *šwty*. They are all most often worn not directly on the head, but set on top of another headdress, especially the *sšd* or the *nms*. The pattern of added elements on variants of these crowns is similar as well.

While the *šwty* and the *3tf* did not develop one from the other, there are similarities in both their form and their patterns of development which suggest a connection in their meaning. Variants of the *šwty*, especially from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, are very close to the *3tf* in form and development, the only difference being that the *šwty* lacks the *mww* headdress. This indicates that there is a complementary relationship between the two headdresses. Texts and reliefs support such an association between the *3tf* and the *šwty* because they are shown juxtaposed to one another. The *šwty* is the traditional headdress of the god Tatenen. A statue of this god in the Cairo Museum dated to the reign of Amenhotep II wears the *šwty* with ram horns. The statue is inscribed:

ḳ3i šwty nb 3tf [70]

He of the two tall feathers, lord of the *3tf* crown.

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[69] E. Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1892), pl. 25.

[70] P. Barguet, "D'une représentation du Ka royal," *ASAE* 51(1951), p. 211.

A more graphic representation of the *3tf* and the *šwty* in association with one another can be seen in a relief depicting the coronation of Hatsepsut on a block from Karnak. In one scene, Hatshepsut receives the *3tf* from the goddess Hathor while Amun places his hand on the crown. In a parallel scene, Hathor is replaced by Mut, but it is the *šwty* that is placed on the head of the queen.[71]

Hathor is the mother of the sun god, and she is associated with renewal and resurrection in the Netherworld.[72] Mut, on the other hand is known as the spouse of Amun and the mother of Khonsu in the Theban triad since the reign of Hatshepsut. She is thought of as the mother goddess who gives life to the wearer of the double crown.[73] These parallel scenes in which the pharaoh is crowned with the *šwty* by Mut and with the *3tf* by Hathor agree with the idea that the *3tf* and the *šwty* represent two different kinds of kingship. The pharaoh crowned with the *3tf* by Hathor is associated with kingship in the Netherworld, while the *šwty* affixed by Mut is connected with kingship in with the real world.

Barguet observed a pattern of sphinxes at Deir el Bahri which wore *šwty* juxtaposed to similar sphinxes wearing the *3tf*. He interpreted this to show a relationship between the *šwty* and the *3tf*: the sphinx wearing the *šwty* represented the king, while that with the *3tf* symbolized his ka.[74]

It is interesting to note the crowns of the gods Horus and Osiris who are identified, respectively, with the living and the dead king. Horus most frequently wears the *šwty*, and Osiris the *3tf*. In the temple of Seti I at Abydos Horus sometimes wears the Osiris

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71 Lacau, "Blocs de la reine," pl. 5.

72 F. Daumas, "Hathor," *LÄ* III, p. 1025.

73 H. te Velde, "Mut," *LÄ* IV, p. 247.

74 Barguet, *ASAE* 51, p. 207.

crown[75] as well as the *3tf*.[76] Likewise, Osiris is represented wearing the *šwty*. In his chapel the head of Osiris on the prow of his sacred boat wears the *šwty*, not the *3tf* or Osiris crown.[77] There is no explanation for this interchange of headdresses. It does, however, suggest the link between Horus and Osiris, in that both are necessary for the cycle to be implemented. Perhaps this interchangeability is an indication that the cycle itself is more important than which god wears one or the other crown.

Description of the *sšd*

Unlike other royal headdresses, headbands were worn by the general population for the practical purpose of confining the hair. They were worn for work in the fields, in the house, on the river, for hunting and for warfare.[78] These headbands, probably made of linen, were worn around the forehead and tied in a bow at the back of the head.

This type of headband, made of cloth or metal, became a royal headdress when a uraeus was added. A few of these have survived to the present time, such as a metal headband with a tie shaped like a bow from the tomb of the Thirteenth Dynasty king, Hor,[79] and another (Fig. 22) from the tomb of the Seventeenth Dynasty king, Antef.[80] The headband of Antef was made of gold, silver and colored glass. [81] A gold headband with uraeus and vulture attached was found on the mummy of Tutankhamun beneath the

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75 See Ho. #6 through #13.

76 See Ho. #4 and #5.

77 *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 7. Also, see Os. #16 through #19 and #37.

78 E. Kern-Lilleso,"Stirnband und Diadem," *LÄ* VI, p. 45-46.

79 al Ather, M. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte antique*, 3 vols. (Vienne: A. Holzhausen, 1894-1909), pl. 38g.

80 Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 82-83.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 214.


Fig. 22.


Fig. 23.

wrappings.[82] This headband also had carnelian, chalcedony, turquoise, as well as light blue and dark blue glass. The vulture head of Nekhebet was made of gold with eyes of obsidian.[83] The *sšd* could be ornamented or worn with other crowns. Amenhotep II is depicted wearing this headdress,[84] which has an additional ureaus added onto the end of the tie. An *3tf* worn by Sahure of the Fifth Dynasty (see Fig. 10) was worn with a *sšd*, ram horns and cow horns. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the *sšd* was combined with other headdresses, such as the *3tf* (Fig. 23) seen on Hatshepsut.[85]

Terminology of the *sšd*

Among the terms for headband, only two indicate the particular type worn by the king: *mḏh* and *sšd*. *mḏh* is written as an ideogram or determined with the headband sign in three different forms: top and side view, side view, and back view.[86] It is earliest attested in the Middle Kingdom as a headdress, but not of the king until the Eighteenth Dynasty. The word has funerary associations and occurs in a hymn to Osiris:

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82 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, pl. 1.

83 Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, p. 230 and pl. 123; also see *sšd* #6.

84 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 76.

85 K. Mysliwiec, "Quelques remarques sur les couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III," *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, v. 2, pl. 8. This reference was given by Professor Anthony Spalinger.

86 *Wb.* II, p. 190.

pri.n.f mḏḥ.w m wḏ n s3b šsp.n.f ḥḳ3t t3wy ḥḏt mn.ti m tp.f[87]

He has come forth invested with the command of a dignitary. He has received the rulership of the two lands, the white crown fixed on his head.

sšd is written ideographically with a string, a bolt of cloth, or a headband, and it is spelled out with any of these same signs for the determinative.[88] It is first seen as a royal headdress in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Amenhotep II. In this form it is included among royal crowns listed on the small sphinx stela of Amenhotep II (see ch. p. 53).

Since *sšd* occurs with a string, cloth, or headband determinative, and *mḏḥ* only with the headband, the latter terms must be specific to the type of headband represented by its determinative. When *sšd* occurs in the text associated of a relief which depicts the headdress, however, it is always the type with the bow at the back of the head. The determinatives of these terms, then, show *sšd* to be a general term for cloth, then for headdress, and finally a royal headdress, while *mḏḥ* is specifically a headdress. Both words designate a royal headdress by the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Development of the *sšd*

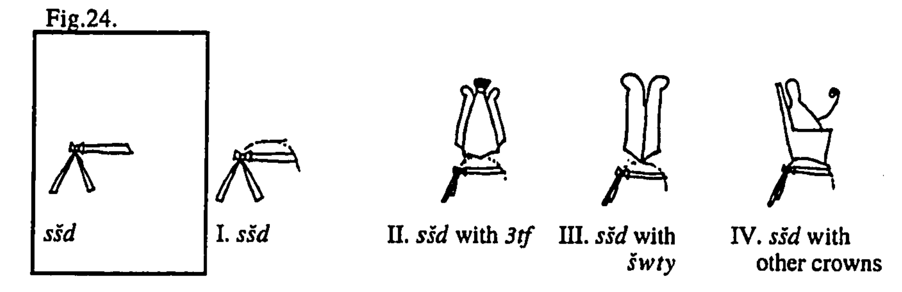
The *sšd* is divided into four subtypes (Fig. 24) according to which headdress it is worn with. The purpose of this particular division is to see which headdresses are most often worn with the *sšd*, in order to see if this reflects its significance.

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87 *Wb. Belegstellen* I, p. 276.

88 *Wb.* IV, p. 301.

Fig.24.



The order of appearance of subtypes of the *sšd* are as follows: the first variant worn with the *3tf* appeared in the reign of Sahure of the Fifth Dynasty; the first *sšd* with *šwty* to be seen is from the reign of Niuserre of the same dynasty; the first *sšd* worn by itself as a royal headdress does not appear until the Seventeenth Dynasty; from the reign of Amenhotep III in the Eighteenth Dynasty onward the *sšd* began to be worn with other crowns, such as the Amun Crown and the *hmhm*.

Most *sšd* variants were worn with the *3tf* (Table 9). In addition to being worn with the *3tf*, the *sšd* was also worn with the *šwty*, the *sḫmty*, the *hmhm* and the Amun crown.

Table 9. Ratio of *sšd* subtypes.

I -*sšd* alone	8
II -with *3tf*	10
III -with *šwty*	13
IV -with other headdresses	6

In most variants of the *sšd* worn with other headdresses, the *sšd* is tied around a wig, on top of which a crown is placed. The *sšd* is only rarely tied around the crown itself. The latter form occurs only when the *sšd* is worn with the Amun crown.[89]

Significance of the *sšd*

Although the *sšd* appears to have the practical purpose of attaching the uraeus to the head of the king, it has a deeper significance as well. Variants which include a second crown as an added element (except those worn with the Amun crown) emphasize this point:

89 See Am.Cr. #5.

these consist of a *sšd* tied around a wig, while the second headdress is set on top of the head.[90]

The fact that there are almost twice as many variants of the *sšd* worn with the *3tf* than any other type points to a particular association with this crown. It is no accident, then, that the *sšd*, like the *3tf* has connections with the god Osiris and the mortuary cult. As far back as the Old Kingdom, Isis and Nephthys are shown wearing "fillets" at funeral ceremonies,[91] and they are represented wearing the *sšd* with the *ḫ3t* (Fig. 25) in later times.[92]

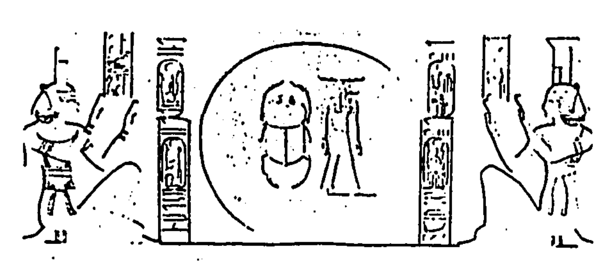
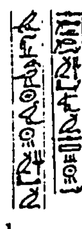


Fig.25.

The *sšd* is associated with the gods Osiris, Re and Shu; specifically, it signifies regeneration in the next world through light and air. [93] This is pointed out by Pecoil and Maher-Taha through a study of mortuary texts. Air and solar light together regenerate the deceased. The *sšd* may even be a synomym for the radiance of the sun:



bik 3ḫw sḫm(w) sšd.f sḫm.(w) sšp.f [94]

The falcon is spiritualized, his *sšd* is powerful, his rays are bright.

and

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90 See *sšd* #8 through #13, #29 through #33, #35, #38 and #42.

91 Kern-Lilleso, "Stirnband," p. 46.

92 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 223.

93 It is interesting that the *sšd* is associated with new life in the Netherworld in mortuary texts: Bruyere noted that the *sšd*, when viewed from above, has the same shape as the *'nḫ* sign for "life; Bruyère, *Deir el Medinéh*, v. 16, p. 180-81.

94 E. Naville, *Das Ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX Dynastie*, 2 vols. (Austria: Akademische Druck, 1971), Ch. 78, l. 29.

ḏb3 n.i sšd sḫm.kw m k3 it imy t3[95]

The *sšd* restores me. I am powerful in the ka chapel which is in the earth.

When the deceased was designated as an Osiris, he was sometimes called *sšd.y*, "the one with the *sšd* fillet."[96] This headdress is associated with nenewal of life in the context of the Horus-Osiris cycle as well:

irt.n Ḥrw n it.f Wsir wbn n.f sšd[97]

The one Horus has made for his father Osiris in order that the *sšd* shine for him.

and

irt.n Ḥrw n it.f Wsir s3ḫ.f ḏb3 n.f sšd[98]

The one Horus has made for his father Osiris: to transfigurate him, to restore for him the *sšd*.

According to a study of the Book of Gates, the laying in place of a fillet[99] would correspond to a transmission of royal power in the Sed Festival and

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95 E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, 2 vols. (Series: Ägyptiaca Helvetica, v.7-8), p. 204.

96 H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933), pl. 27-28.

97 Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten*, p. 125.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

99 Pecoil and Maher-Taha, however, believe that the headband tied around the head into a bow at the back of the head, and the ribbon tied in a knot behind the neck with long, flowing ends are variants of one another; Pecoil and Maher-Taha, "Aspects du bandeau-seched," p. 67. This is not true for two reasons: when the terms *sšd* and *mḏḥ* have a headband determinative, they always depict the *sšd* and never the ribbon; each of the two headdresses shows a different pattern of development and, hence, probably have a different significance. The *sšd* appeared for the first time in the Old Kingdom and was usually worn with the *3tf*, *hmhm* and *šwty*. The ribbon did not appear until the late Eighteenth Dynasty and was most frequently worn with the *ḫprš* and the cap crown, then later with the *ḥḏt*, *dšrt* and *sḫmty*.

the Festival of the New Year.[100] Hence, the *sšd* is a crown of regeneration in the Netherworld through light and air, and is in this world as well, a symbol of the regeneration of the powers of kingship. This point is supported by the use of the *sšd* with the *3tf* (associated with Osiris) and with the *šwty* (associated with Horus).

Association of the *3tf*, *šwty* and *sšd*

Like the *3tf*, the *šwty* is associated with the *sšd*: twice as many *šwty* variants are worn with the *sšd* and with the *nms* than with any other headdress or by itself. The developmental connection between the *3tf* and the *šwty* has already been pointed out, as well as their association with the Osiris and Horus aspects of kingship. What does it mean that these two headdresses so frequently worn over a *sšd*?

The *3tf* and *šwty* are associated with Osiris and Horus respectively. Eternity in ancient Egypt consists of the eternal and spiritual aspect of the dead, together with the changing and physical aspcct of the living. Osiris and Horus together represent the eternity of kingship. The *3tf* and *šwty* symbolize the eternity of kingship, then, and the *sšd*, with which they are so often worn and whose function is regeneration, represents the instrument through which one form changes to the other.

Conclusion

The *3tf* was often confused by early scholars with the Osiris crown, but it is clearly a separate headdress, since the *3tf* always has a *mww* headdress between the *šwty*, while the Osiris crown consists of the *ḥḏt* with *šwty* added. The two have a different pattern of development and are worn in different situations.

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[100]J.F. Pecoil and M. Maher-Taha, "Quelques aspects du bandeau-seched," *BSEG* 8 (1983), p. 75.

The *3tf* symbolizes kingship over a united Egypt in the Netherworld in the same way that the *sḫmty* indicates kingship over Egypt in the real world. The *3tf* is significant as a crown of renewal of life in the Netherworld. Specifically, it is associated with the deceased king who becomes Osiris as ruler of Egypt in the Netherworld.

The *hmhm*, a triple form of the *3tf*, is clearly a development from that crown because it is a more complex form and appeared at a later time. It has a separate significance from the *3tf* as well, but it is not possible to determine it at this time. Since the *hmhm* appeared for the first time in the reign of Akhenaten, and because he appears to have worn the *hmhm* as a substitute for the *3tf*, perhaps the significance of this crtown originated from that of the *3tf*.

The *šwty*, on the other hand, is associated with the living king as Horus. The fact that the *3tf* is associated with Osiris and the *šwty* with Horus points to an association between the two crowns symbolizing the special relationship of Osiris and Horus in kingship. Also, the *3tf* and *šwty* are connected in the development of their form.

When variants of the *3tf* and *šwty* are compared, they have a number of parallels: always include *šwty*; not often worn diriectly on the head; often worn on top of a wig encircled by a *sšd*; worn with ram horns and one or two sun disks. The difference between the *šwty* and the *3tf* is that the latter includes a *mww* headdress between the *šwty* feathers.

The *sšd* is associated with resurrection in the Netherworld through its connections to Isis, Nephthys and Osiris. It is also associated with Re in the aspect of regeneration through light. The frequent use of this headdress with the *3tf* and the *šwty* indiciate that these crowns taken together, signify the eternity of kingship: the eternity of kingship through the death of the old king (Osiris - *3tf*) and the birth of the new king (Horus - *šwty*) through the function of regeneration (*sšd*).

Chapter Four

Cloth Headdresses: the *nms* and the *ẖ3t*

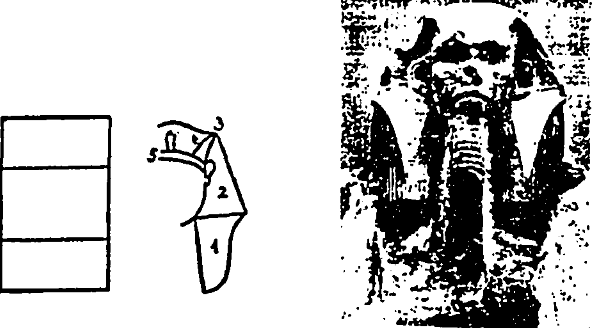
The *nms* and the *ẖ3t* are similar in material and in form. Both appear to be made from a rectangular piece of cloth, which is first placed across the forehead and then tied back behind the ears and beneath the hair. The *nms*, however, has lappets which fall down the front of the shoulders, while the *ẖ3t* envelops the hair with its sides going back behind the shoulders and under the hair. The *nms* is tied in a queue, but the *ẖ3t* comes together in a broad, flat panel. The *nms*, morever, often has stripes, while the *ẖ3t* is always plain.

Both headdresses appear in representations in the Fourth Dynasty, although the *nms* is by far the most frequently depicted. The simultaneous appearance of the *nms* and the *ẖ3t* as royal headdresses, as well as their similarity in material and form are reasons why the two should be studied together. More important, however, there is evidence that the *nms* and *ẖ3t* came to be connected in their significance in regard to kingship. The study of the two together may clarify the individual meaning of each one as well.

Description of the *nms*

The *nms* must have been made of cloth, although no actual examples have survived. The cloth determinative with which the word sometimes appears confirms this. The *nms* is depicted both with and without stripes. The pattern of the stripes indicates that the cloth, after encircling the forehead, was tied at the back of the neck beneath the hair. The material was tied into a rounded knot at the back, while the portion of the cloth above each shoulder fell down the shoulder in the form of a lappet.

The form of the *nms* was observed and analysed by Evers. He believed the *nms* consisted of a large rectangular cloth which was divided into five parts (Fig. 26).[1]



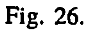


Fig. 26.

Fig. 27.



Fig. 28.

According to Evers' analysis, the cloth was folded twice along the middle. The forward end of the cloth came over the head and was pulled on each side of the forehead down to the back of the neck, where the back of the side edges of the cloth met . These were fastened together on the inside of the headdress. The back edge was tied in a queue, while the forward part became the lappets down the front of the shoulders.[2]

The earliest representation of the *nms* (Fig. 27) is a prototype of the traditional headdress. This *nms*[3] is seen on a statue of Neterikhet Djeser of the Third Dynasty. It is shorter, lacks the queue, and has narrower lappets than the traditional *nms*. The heavy wig worn beneath this headdress is visible.[4] The first traditional *nms* (Fig. 28) to appear is that worn by Khafre[5] on the well-known statue of this king in the Cairo Museum.

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1 H.G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein: Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs*, 2 vols. (München: F. Bruckman, 1929), v. 2, p. 7.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

3 C. Aldred, *Egypt to the End of the Old Kingdom* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), pl. 61.

4 A statue of Akhenaten has a *nms* with a stylized wig in place of lappets. This is reminiscent of the *nms* prototype on the statue of Djoser in the Cairo Museum. Djoser's rule began almost 1,300 years before that of Akhenaten.

5 C. Aldred, *Art in Ancient Egypt*, 3 vols. (London: Portland Press, 1949), v. 1, pl. 16.

Few variants of the *nms* appear until the New Kingdom. Suddenly, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, many variants are seen, often worn with other headdresses, i.e., the *3tf*, the *šwty* and the *sḫmty*. Although all types of headdresses became more elaborate in this period, the contrast is especially pronounced with variants of the *nms*.

The most complex version of the *nms*[6] appeared early on in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig. 29). This headdress was worn by Amenhotep II. It has a pair of Amun ram horns and a uraeus. On top of the *nms* is an *3tf* with ram horns, cow horns and two sun disks, as well as two uraei, each of which wears cow horns and a sun disk. On top of the crown is a falcon, also wearing a sun disk.

Some *nms* headdresses have unusual added elements. One worn by Amenhotep III (Fig. 30), has a sun disk set in a crescent moon, and an Amun ram horn.[7] Another *nms* which has unusual added elements is one worn by Akhenaten.[8] The only added elements, besides the uraeus, are two pairs of tall feathers. The feathers comprise the typical headdress of the god Shu. This calls to mind the king's Horus name: *Ḥr k3 nḫt ḳ3 šwty*, Horus victorious bull, high-of-feathers.[9]

In the Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II was depicted wearing a variant (Fig. 31) of the *nms*,[10] which has a pair of jackal heads as added elements. The headdress has a *sḫmty*, *šwty* and a sun disk on top of the *nms*. A jackal is set on each side. On the front of the *sḫmty* was probably an image of the god Ptah with a *w3s* sceptre on top of a *mr* sign. The

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6 N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Kenamun at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), pl. 11.

7 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 87. Although this crown only shows one Amun horn while the previous example depicts two, it is assumed that the real crown would have a pair, and that artistic convention determines whether both are actually shown in relief.

8 M.H. Abd-ur-Rahman, "The Four-feathered Crown of Akhenaten," *ASAE* 56 (1959), pl. 1.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

10 Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, fig. 24.

crown, then, spells the king's name *wsr-m3ʿt-rʿ* with his epithet *mri ptḥ*.[11] This crown is typical of one kind of cryptography used in ancient Egypt. Through it hieroglyphic signs were assigned new alphabetic or syllabic values through the use of a rebus. This type of cryptography is also found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.[12]

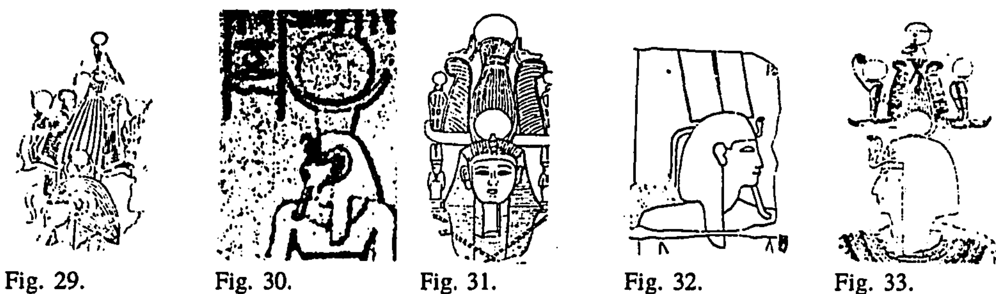


Fig. 29. Fig. 30. Fig. 31. Fig. 32. Fig. 33.

Another cryptographic headdress was worn by Ramesses III (see Fig. 7 in Ch. 2). This headdress has jackal heads and an *3tf* with two sun disks. On the shoulders of this statue are two seated figures of the god Amun above *mr* signs. This crown, like the previous one, spells the king's name. The feathers on the *3tf*, the sun disk, and the figures of Amun spell *wsr-m3ʿt-rʿ mri imn*, Usermatre, beloved of Amun.[13]

There is only one instance in which the god Amun is depicted wearing a *nms*[14] in place of his usual Amun Crown. This is on a relief at Karnak (Fig. 32), and the *nms* has Amun's characteristic pair of tall feathers as well.

An unusual *nms* variant[15] has an added element representing Amun: a ram head. This crown (Fig. 33) consists of a *nms* with an *3tf* on top. The *3tf* has two sun disks, ram horns and cow horns. The ram horns are surmounted by a pair of uraei, each wearing a

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

12 D. Silverman, "Cryptographic Writing in the Tomb of Tutankhamun," *SAK* 8 (1980), p. 233.

13 Habachi, *Deification*, fig. 5.

14 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 91.

15 M.F. Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907), pl. 76.

sun disk. On top of the *3tf* is a ram's head with a sun disk and a uraeus, which itself has a sun disk. Ram heads were worn as neck amulets in the Kushite period and were specific to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The ram head on amulets, like the one on this crown, often wore a sun disk and uraeus. This form of Amun was worshipped in Nubia.[16]

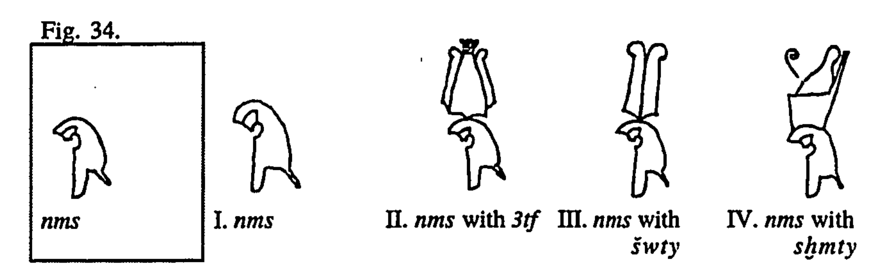
Terminology of the *nms*

Nms is the only term used to designate this particular type of cloth headdress, and it is attested earliest in the Middle Kingdom.[17] The determinative of the word is either a cloth sign, or a *nms* headdress with a uraeus.

Development of the *nms*

Variants of the *nms* are divided into four types (Fig. 34), according to which headdress they are worn with. Type I has only the *nms* with added elements. Type II consists of variants which have an *3tf* on top of the *nms*. Type III has *šwty* over the *nms*, while Type IV is worn with the *sẖmty*.

Fig. 34.



Until the Eighteenth Dynasty there are only three vaiants of the *nms*, consisting of the simplest forms. The earliest *nms*[18] is a prototype, since its form differs from the later

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16 E.R. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), p. 26.

17 *Wb.*, II, p. 269.

18 See *nms* #1.

traditional *nms*: it is shorter with no queue, and the small lappets allow the heavy wig to protrude. It is worn by Neterikhet Djeser of the Third Dynasty. The second and third variants[19] are both worn by Khafre of the Fourth Dynasty. One consists of only the *nms*, and the other adds a uraeus.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, many complex forms of the *nms* appear suddenly, by the reign of Amenhotep II. The earliest of these[20] is highly complex. This *nms* with uraeus is worn with an *3tf* that has two sun disks, as well as ram horns, cow horns and two more uraei, each of which wears cow horns and a sun disk. This crown also has a falcon wearing a sun disk and Amun ram horns.

There are more variants of the *nms* depicted on the king than any other crown type, and the largest number of these are worn with the *3tf* (13 out of 44) and with the *šwty* (14 out of 44). The number of sun disks and uraei increases suddenly in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Table 10), continuing to do so through the Twentieth Dynasty.

Table 10. Pattern of added elements in *nms* variants.

dynasty	ram horns	cow horns	sun disks	uraei	Amun horns
1-17th	0	0	0	0	0
18th	0	0	0	0	0
-pre Tuth.III	3	2	10	10	1
-pre Amen.III	2	0	8	6	0
-pre Amarna	3	1	6	6	1
-Amarna	1	1	13	8	0
-post Amarna	0	0	0	1	0
19th	11	6	29	43	4
20th	5	2	48	39	9
21-24th	0	0	0	0	0
25th	0	0	0	2	0
26-30th	0	0	0	0	0

When compared to those worn by royal sphinxes (Table 11), the largest number are those worn with the *3tf* and the *šwty*.

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19 See *nms* #2 and #3.

20 See *nms* #11.

Table 11. Proportion of *nms* variants for kings and sphinxes.

type	kings	sphinxes
nms	9	3
nms with *3tf*	13	4
nms with *šwty*	14	1
nms with *sḫmty*	5	2

More representations of royal sphinxes wear *nms* variants (11) than variants of any other headdresses (6).

Significance of the *nms*

Although the appearance of the *nms* as a simple cloth head covering appears to make its purpose a practical one, this headdress has a special significance as a royal headdress. The fact that the *nms* is included among the crowns of kingship in coronation texts shows that this headdress has a particular symbolism connected with kingship beyond any practical reason for its use. The *nms* is included in coronation texts among other crowns on the great sphinx stela of Amenhotep II:

ẖnm.n.f wrt-ḥk3.w snsn.n sḫmty m tp.f 3tf.w Rʿ m wpt.f tp.f ḫkr.(w) m šmʿ.s mḥw.s
iṯit.n.f sšd ḫprš ibs šwty wrty m tp.f ḥpt.n nms rmn.wy.f[21]

He has united with the great-of-magic; the double crown has joined with his head. The *3tf* crown of Re is on his brow. His head is adorned with the crown of Upper Egypt and the crown of Lower Egypt. He has seized the *sšd*, the *ḫprš*, the *ibs* and the great *šwty* on his head. The *nms* has embraced his two shoulders.

It is also found in scenes of Hatshepsut's coronation found on blocks from Karnak temple:

[21] *Urk.* IV, p. 1277.

ḏd-mdw in Imn-R‘ s3t.i M3‘t-k3 R‘ smn.i ẖ‘i.ṯ m nms sp tpi ni ẖ‘i.ṯ m nsw ḥr st Ḥrw ni.t ‘nẖ.w mi R‘w ḏt [22]

Words spoken by Amun Re: My daughter Maatkare, I have established your crown as the *nms*, the first time of your appearance as king on the throne of Horus of the living, like Re, forever.

Yet, there are no texts prior to the Ptolemaic period which indicate in any way the significance of the *nms* as a headdress associated with kingship.

Several factors indicate that the *nms* is connected with the sun god Re, and that the wearing of this headdress by the king associates him with that god. The true *nms* first appeared on representations of the king in the Fourth Dynasty, which coincides with the period when the god Re and the sun theology rose to importance. In this dynasty the birth names of kings had Re as one element:

Ḏd.f-R‘w, *Ḫ‘i.f R‘w* and *Mn-k3w-R‘w*.[23]

Djedefre, Khafre and Menkaure

The sphinx is generally associated with the sun god, but this is not attested until the Eighteenth Dynasty. That is, the great sphinx at Giza was erected in the Fourth Dynasty, but the veneration of it as Harmachis is not attested until the reign of Amenhotep II, more than one thousand years later.[24]

The most common headdress worn by the sphinx is the *nms* and its variants. Ten different variants of the *nms* are worn through the dynastic period, compared to a total of six variants of all other headdresses. The *nms* with uraeus, moreover, is by far the most common headdress of sphinxes.

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22 P. Lacau-Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, v. 1, p. 237-238.

23 W. Barta, "Re," *LÄ* V, p. 161.

24 C.M. Zivie, "Sphinx," in *LÄ* V, p. 1139-1140.

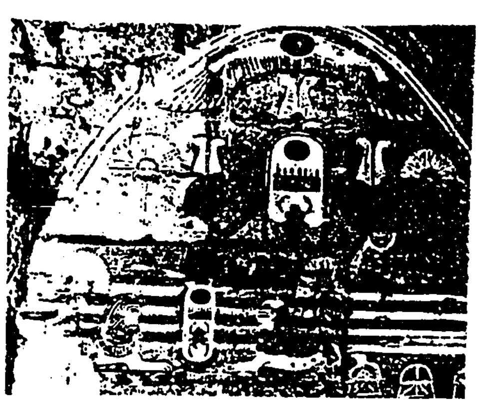


Fig. 35.

The oldest representation of the king wearing the *nms* occurs simultaneously with the earliest appearance of sphinxes in the Old Kingdom. Until the Eighteenth Dynasty, the *nms* was the only headdress worn by sphinxes which represented the king. A large number of these sphinxes are inscribed with the name of a king. For instance a pair of sphinxes (Fig. 35) at Deir el Medineh[25] is shown holding the cartouche of Tuthmosis III. The headdress of each sphinx has a *nms* with *šwty* and ram horns.

A pair of sphinxes (Fig. 36) represented in the tomb of Kenamun shows the association between the sphinx and the king.[26] One sphinx has the head of a falcon, while the other has a human head. Both sphinxes wear a *nms* with the *sḫmty* and have cartouches with the name of the king.

Fig. 36.

The royal titulary is another means by which the king reflects his identification with the sun god. His title connecting him with Re appeared, like the first traditional *nms*, in the Fourth Dynasty. The appearance of *s3 Rʿ* in the titulary of the king coincides with that of the first true *nms*. *s3 Rʿ* is first seen with the name of Radjedef, the son and successor to Khufu, on a fragment from the pyramid temple of Radjedef. The name of the king was not enclosed in a cartouche, however, so *s3 Rʿ* appeared here as an epithet, not as a part of a formal titulary.

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25 Bruyère, *Deir el-Médineh*, v. 20, pt. 1, fig. 48.

26 Davies, *Kenamun*, v. 1, pl. 19.

King Wenis of the Fifth Dynasty was the first to enclose a formal *s3 Rʿ* title in a cartouche.[27]

Much later evidence from the Ptolemaic period points to a ritual associated with the *nms* from an earlier date. This ritual indicates a mythological relationship between the *nms* and the uraeus, which often symbolizes the goddess Sekhmet as the daughter of Re. As the eye of the sun god and the daughter of Re, the uraeus was equal to a number of female deities, including Bastet, Tefnut and Sekhmet.[28] According to a Ptolemaic text from Edfu, the *nms* was associated with the anger of Sekhmet, and hence with the uraeus. Kurth interprets this to mean that the sight of the cloth makes anger flow in, and this anger is as great as that of Sekhmet. [29] In this text the ritual is titled:

swn m nms n itf šps snḏ Sḫmt ḫr ʿt.f[30]

Bringing of the *nms* to his august father, in order that the fear of Sekhmet be under his limbs.

The fighting power of the goddess Sekhmet is realized in that the *nms* headdress protects its wearer in the same way as the uraeus.

Description of the *ḫ3t*

The *ḫ3t* differs from the *nms* in shape and decoration. The *nms* appears to have angles where the cloth turns, has lappets which fall upon the shoulders and a queue at the

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[27] J. Beckerath, *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Münich-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984), p. 32.

[28] K. Martin, "Uräus," *LÄ* VI, p. 865-66. This is important because the *nms* and its variants are always worn with the uraeus, with the exception of *nms* #1. By contrast, some variants of other headdresses have no uraeus.

[29] D. Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempel von Edfu* (Göttinger Orientforschungen Series No. 4, 1983), p. 150.

[30] E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* (Le Caire: Institut francais d'archéologie orientale, 1934), p. 286.

back. The *ḫ3t*, instead, is rounded, encloses the hair and has a broad, flat fold of cloth instead of a queue at the back. The *ḫ3t* has been described by scholars as "a kind of hood which holds the hair loosely in a bag,""a bag wig,"" a wig cover," or as a "soft kerchief."[31]

The only *ḫ3t* which has survived is from the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is in the form of cloth fragments from the tomb of Tutankhamun. This *ḫ3t* originally covered the cap worn by the mummy of the king beneath the mummy wrappings.[32]

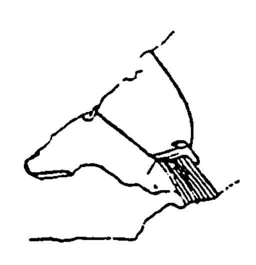


Fig. 37.

The earliest representation[33] of a *ḫ3t* is that worn by Khufu (Fig. 37) in the Fourth Dynasty on a relief from his funerary temple.[34] This *ḫ3t* is a prototype of the traditional form. It differs from the typical *ḫ3t* in two respects: there is no fold of cloth at the back, and the hair hangs beneath the *ḫ3t* instead; the sides are not as fully rounded. This particular *ḫ3t* is also unusual because it has a clasp in the shape of a falcon at the back. This falcon is reminiscent of the one at the back of the *nms* on the famous statue of Khafre in the Cairo Museum.

Another prototype of the *ḫ3t* appears in the Fifth Dynasty. It is worn by Niuserre on a relief from his sun temple.[35] This *ḫ3t* is worn only with the uraeus and, as in the previous example, has sides that are not rounded. Also, instead of the broad flat panel of cloth at the back, there is a thin, rounded queue, like that on the *nms*.

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31 M. Eaton-Krauss, "The *Khat* Headdress to the End of the Amarna Period," *SAK* 5(1977), p. 22.

32 Carter, *Tutankhamun*, v. 2, pl. 76.

33 King Den of the First Dynasty and King Djoser of the Third Dynasty, however, are both shown wearing a kerchief that could be prototype of the *ḫ3t*; Eaton-Krauss, "*Khat* Headdress," p. 26.

34 J.P. Lauer, "Note complémentaire sur le temple funéraire de Khéops," *ASAE*, v. 49 (1949), pl. 2.

35 F.W. Von Bissing, *et al.*, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woserre*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs1905-28), v. 3, fig. 425.

The first traditional *ḫ3t* worn by the king does not appear until the Eighteenth Dynasty. This *ḫ3t*[36] is found on a statue of Amenhotep II in the Cairo Museum. The only added element is the uraeus.

Compared to the large number of *nms* variants which appear suddenly in the Eighteenth Dynasty, there are only a few *ḫ3t* variants found in the same time span. Also unlike the *nms*, the most elaborate variant occurs in the Amarna period. This headdress is found in a scene from Amarna (see Fig. 13 in Ch. 3) which depicts Akhenaten and Nefertiti worshipping the Aten.[37] Akhenaten wears a most unusual variant of the *ḫ3t*, and the crown worn by Nefertiti seems to be a "junior" version of that worn by the king. Akhenaten wears a *ḫ3t* with an elaborate *hmhm* which is set on a band of uraei, each wearing a sun disk. Suspended from the *hmhm* are four uraei wearing sun disks. Two more uraei, set on a pair of ram horns, wear Amun Crowns, each of which has a sun disk. The *hmhm* has a pair of cow horns as well. On top of the *hmhm* are three falcons, each wearing a sun disk and holding a pair of cartouches.

The *ḫ3t* worn by Nefertiti in this scene is similar to that of Akhenaten in that both have a version of the *hmhm* set on ram horns and resting on a uraei band with sun disks. Both crowns have, as well, two uraei resting on ram horns, each uraeus wearing an Amun Crown. These uraei on Akhenaten's headdress also have sun disks, but those on Nefertiti's do not. Suspended from the *hmhm* of Akhenaten's headdress are four uraei wearing sun disks, but that of Nefertiti has only two. Also, there are no falcons atop Nefertiti's crown.

The most important difference between the two crowns lies in the form of the *hmhm*: Akhenaten's is comprised of the usual three *mww* headdresses, while Nefertiti's

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36 E.L.B. Terrence and H.G. Fisher, *Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Cairo Museum* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1970), pl. 23.

37 Lepsius, *Dinkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 91.

has only two. This exceptional headdress is seen on only one other occasion, again worn by Nefertiti in a similar scene with Akhenaten at Amarna.[38] Here the queen wears exactly the same crown, although the king's *hmhm* is worn over a *nms* (see Fig. 40). This unusual headdress is worn by Nefertiti only in scenes which represent the headdress as a "junior" version of that worn by the king. One cannot help but wonder, then, if there is a connection between how these crowns were worn and Nefertiti's special cultic role as queen in the Amarna period.

A *ḫ3t*[39] worn by Ramesses IX of the Twentieth Dynasty on a wall in his tomb has no added elements, not even a uraeus. What is exceptional here is the situation in which the *ḫ3t* is worn. The king, depicted in his boat making the journey through the Netherworld, is represented with the head of a man and the body of a crocodile. The prow and stern of the boat are in the shape of a *ḥḏt* and a *dšrt.* A similar scene (see Fig. 16 in Ch. 3) appeared earlier in the tomb of Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The king is shown in his sarcophagus with the emblems of kingship beneath the bier. He wears the *ḫ3t* with a uraeus and lies, not in the usual position of a mummy, but on his stomach with his head raised. The symbols of life and dominion are held to his nostrils. It is thought that this figure represents the ka of the king because the king's Horus name refers to it.[40] A later scene from the Twenty-second Dynasty depicts Sheshonk III in the same position wearing the same headdress.[41] This time, however, only the symbol of life is held to his nostrils.[42]

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38 N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,* 2 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1973), v. 2 pl. 8.

39 M.F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907), pl. 73.

40 Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pl. 74.

41 In the tombs of Seti I and Sheshonk, the representations of the king in his sarcophagus wearing a *ḫ3t* are reminiscent of remnants of a *ḫ3t* found on the head of Tutankhamun beneath the mummy wrappings; Carter, *Tutankhamun*, v. 2, pl. 76.

Terminology of the *ḫ3t*

The term *ḫ3t*, according to Eaton-Krauss, was used as the designation of this headdress for many years by Egyptologists such as Vandier, Borchardt and Hayes. Recently, however, *'fnt* has come into use. These terms, however, have different shades of meaning: the *ḫ3t* is a more rarely used word, referring specifically to this one type of headdress, while *'fnt* is a term for cloth headdresses in general.[43]

ḫ3t is attested earliest in the Middle Kingdom and was written with a cloth determinative. By the Late period, however, it appeared as a masculine word with an article, *p3 ḫ3*, and was determined by the headdress itself:[44]

smn.i n tf s k3 n p3 ḫ3 R' Ḥr-3ḫty[45]

I have affixed for that one the ka of the *ḫ3t* headdress of Re Horakhty.

The earliest date for *'fnt* is found in the Old Kingdom in the Pyramid texts. It is determined by a cloth sign, or by a kerchief which seems to vary in form. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the word was determined, as well, with a slanted line.[46] It is a general term for headdresses. For instance, in a text at Deir el Bahri, *'fnt* is juxtaposed to the white crown and is determined by the red crown:

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42 K. Mysliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum* (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge Series No. 5, 1978), p. 19, fig. 10; P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chechanq III a Tanis* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1960), pl. 30.

43 Eaton-Krauss, "*Khat* Headdress," p. 24-25.

44 *Wb.* III, p. 222.

45 *Urk.* III, p. 139.

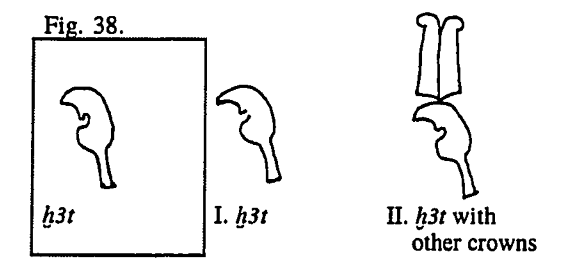
46 *Wb.* I, p. 183.

šsp.k ḥḏt gr ʿfnt m ḥ3t.k wṯs.k nbti[47]

You have received the white crown the (red crown) headdress on your brow; you have lifted the double crown.

Development of the *ḫ3t*

ḫ3t variants are classified into two types (Fig. 38): Type I variants have no added elements, or consist of those which are not worn as separate headdresses; Type II variants have elements added which are also worn as separte crowns.



As with other crown types, the most elaborate *ḫ3t* headdresses appear suddenly in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Elaborate variants of the *nms* appear earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty in the reigns of Amenhotep II, Thutmosis III and Amenhotep III, but there are no elaborate *ḫ3t* variants until the reign of Akhenaten. After the Amarna period there are only simple variants of the *ḫ3t*, while new elaborate *nms* variants continue to appear through the Twentieth Dynasty. What does this mean? Does this have special ramifications for the Amarna period?

Although variants of the *ḫ3t* are relatively few, the same pattern of added elements (Table 12) appears as with other crown types. In particular, there is a sudden increase in sun disks and uraei in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

47 *Urk.* IV, p. 292-3.

Table 12. Pattern of added elements on *ḫ3t* variants.

dynasty	ram horns	cow horns	sun disks	uraei
1-3rd				
4th	0	0	0	0
5th	0	0	0	1
18th				
-pre Tuth.III	0	0	0	1
- preAmen.III	0	0	0	0
-pre Amarna	0	0	1	0
-Amarna	1	1	16	7
-post Amar.	0	0	0	0
19th	2	0	4	5
20th	2	0	11	3
21-30th	0	0	0	0

The large number of sun disks added to *nms* variants begins in the reign of Amenhotep II, but this occurs first in the reign of Akhenaten for the *ḫ3t*. Does this have implications for the significance of the *ḫ3t*?

Significance of the *ḫ3t*

Through the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, the *ḫ3t* was worn only by the king and not any deities. The small numher of variants of the *ḫ3t* as well as the lack of examples generally, make it impossible to determine a particular significance for this headdress until the Eighteenth Dynasty.

In the New Kingdom, however, Nut is often depicted wearing the *ḫ3t* in place of the wig in the decoration of royal sarcophagi.[48] Additional evidence from the Nineteenth Dynasty also reflects the use of the *ḫ3t* in a royal funerary context. In a scene in the cenotaph tomb of Seti I at Abydos, the king holds emblems of kingship and is depicted

[48] Nefertiti is represented in place of all four of these goddesses on the sarcophagus of Akhenaten, and she wears the *ḫ3t*; Eaton-Krauss, "*Khat* Headdress," p. 29-31.

between Isis and Nyphthys (Fig. 39). Here the two goddesses are represented as kites and wear the symbols of their names on their heads, while the king wears the *ḫ3t*.[49]

Fig. 39.

The *ḫ3t* is associated, then, with funerary deities in the context of renewal[50] in the New Kingdom, but this concept has its roots in the Middle Kingdom. The origin of the wearing of the *ḫ3t* by funerary goddesses in the context of rejuvenation in the Netherworld, however, may be related even more directly with the death and resurrection of Osiris:

> Mace... Winlock and Jequier... have pointed out the resemblance between the simple kerchief worn since the Old Kingdom by female retainers of the deceased engaged in occupations associated with grain, especially winnowing - see e.g. the winnowing scene from the Dynasty V tomb of *Nfr-sšm-Ptḥ* and *Shn.tiw*.... Threshing in Osirian myth was equated with the murder of the god; winnowing, with his transformation. The donning of a kerchief when winnowing and the association of winnowing with the cult of Osiris may account for the adoption of the headdress by Isis and Nephthys. An additional parallel between representations of Isis and Nephthys wearing the khat and winnowing girls is that both may wear a simple kilt or skirt-like garment tied under the bosom, leaving the breasts exposed.[51]

The *ḫ3t*, then, is associated with the king's renewed life in the Netherworld, at least from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward.

Association between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t*

As early as the Twelfth Dynasty there is evidence that the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* were associated with one another in their significance. At about the same time that funerary goddesses began to be shown wearing the *ḫ3t*, scenes depicting the king wearing the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* in an associative context appeared. Eaton-Krauss pointed out several situations

49 Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pl. 69.

50 While it may appear that all crowns are connected with rejuvenation in the Netherworld, it is clear that some headdresses are connected more directly than others. The *sḫmty*, the *šwty*, the Amun Crown and cap crown may appear within a larger theme of rejuvenation, but the *3tf* and the *ḫ3t* are specifically associated with this idea.

51 Eaton-Krauss, "*Khat* Headdress," p. 29.

where the *ḫ3t* was represented in opposition to the *nms* in the Twelfth Dynasty: friezes of objects on naoi of Amenemhat III show the two headdresses represented side by side.[52] Two figures carved within one naos represent Amenemhat III: one figure wears the *nms*, and the other wears the *ḫ3t*.[53]

The next indication that there is connection between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* does not occur until the Eighteenth Dynasty. From the reign of Hatshepsut onward into the Twentieth Dynasty there is a great increase of evidence for the associative use of these two headdresses. In the same period, there is an increase in the importance of the cult of the king's ka and its role in kingship.

The ka is defined as a life force and was an aspect of both men and gods. The arms in the hieroglyph for the word *k3* symbolize the transference of ka from father to son. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, scenes representing the divine birth of the Hatsheput and Amenhotep III depict the god Khnum creating not only the king, but his ka.[54] Just as the ka of the father was transmitted to the son, the ka of kingship was transmitted from the king to his successor. In the temple of Seti I the god Amun is said to give this ka to King Seti:

di.n[*.i*] *n.k k3 n nsw Stẖy*[55]

I have given to you the ka of King Seti.

The earliest evidence of the association between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* in the Eighteenth Dynasty appears in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri, where fragments of sphinxes were found which wear the *ḫ3t*. From the fragments it is estimated that there

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52 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

54 Kaplony, "Ka," p. 275-7.

55 *Wb. Belegstellen* V, p. 88.

were originally more than one hundred sphinxes wearing the *ḫ3t* and the *nms*. These formed an avenue from the front gate of the forecourt to the foot of the first ramp. These sphinxes were arranged in a manner suggesting an association between the *ḫ3t* and the *nms*.[56]

As evidence of the association between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* continued to increase there are strong indications that the *ḫ3t* signifies the ka of the king. In particular, the two statues of Tutankhamun which stood before the entrance to his sarcophagus chamber are alike and differ only with respect to headdress: one wears the *nms*, and the other wears the *ḫ3t*. An inscription on the statue which wears the *ḫ3t*, moreover, identifies the king with the royal ka of Horakhti. Similar pairs of statues were found in the tombs of Horemhab and Ramesses I, although none of these are inscribed.[57] At Amarna, Akhenaten and Nefertiti are represented in a scene (Fig. 40) in which the king wears a *nms* of unusual form, while the queen wears a *ḫ3t*.[58] Not only is it highly unusual for the king and queen to appear together wearing the *nms* and the *ḫ3t*, but the headdresses themselves are unprecedented. Both are very elaborate variants of the *nms* and *ḫ3t* and a comparison shows that the queen's particular type of *ḫ3t* (see also Ch. 3, p. 38) is a diminutive variant of the king's *nms*.

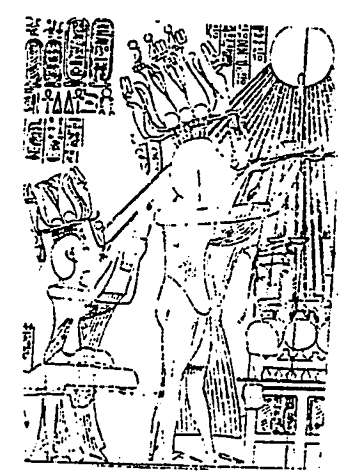


Fig. 40.

Scenes in New Kingdom mortuary temples show additional evidence that there is an association between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* in the way the king is represented wearing these headdresses. For

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56 Eaton-Krauss, "*Khat* Headdress," p. 34-35.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

58 Davies, *El Amarna*, v. 2, pl. 8.

instance, in the temple of Seti I at Abydos the king sometimes wears the *nms* in scenes with Isis and the *ḫ3t* in those with Osiris. Also, in a scene wall between the chapels of Osiris and of Isis, the king is

depicted before Isis wearing the *nms*, and before Osiris wearing the *ḫ3t*.[59] Above the entrance to the Osiris chapel, the king wears the *ḫ3t* in a double scene before Osiris.[60] In the coresponding double scene above the entrance to the chapel of Isis, however, the king wears the *nms*.[61] The double representation of the king on the false doors on the east wall of these chapels can also be compared (Table 13) as to which headdresses he wears.

Table 13. Royal headdresses on false doors in the chapels of the Seti I temple at Abydos.

chapel of Osiris	destroyed
chapel of Isis	*ḫ3t*
chapel of Horus	*nms*
chapel of Amun-Re	*nms*
chapel of Re-Horakhti	*nms*
chapel of Ptah	unfinished
chapel of Seti I	*ḫprš*

Although the evidence is incomplete, some conclusions can be drawn: the king wears the *nms* in chapels of gods associated with the sun (Amun Re and Re Horakhti) and with the living king (Horus); he wears the *ḫ3t* in chapels of deities associated with renewal of life and kingship in the Netherworld (Isis); he wears neither the *nms* nor the *ḫ3t* in the chapel dedicated to himself in deified form; instead he wears the *ḫprš*.

In the Second Hypostyle Hall of this temple, the king is depicted wearing the *ḫ3t* sixty-three times, but he is never represented wearing the *nms*. Perhaps this is because the mortuary temple itself is associated especially with Osiris and is in the sacred city of this god, Abydos. In fact, a special monument to Osiris at this temple, the Osireion, shows a

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59 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 50.

60 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 49.

61 *Ibid.*, pl. 43.

predominance of the king wearing the *ḫ3t* as well: there he is depicted wearing the *ḫ3t* seventeen times, and the *nms* only three times.[62]

The *nms* and the *ḫ3t* are associated in another type of scene in connection with the sun god in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The king is depicted twice in scenes of the two barques of Re, once on each side of the day barque, and again on each side of the night barque. In each scene he wears the *nms* on the left side and the *ḫ3t* on the right side.[63]

The way in which the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* are depicted in scenes in the general layout of New Kingdom tombs also shows a connection between the two headdresses. The *nms* is the most frequently worn headdress in the outer chambers, closest to the entrance, as well as to the sunshine.[64]In the innermost chamber, the sarcophagus chamber, the *ḫ3t* is the most common headdress represented on the king. In the tomb of Tutankhamun the king wears the *nms* when depicted on the surrounding walls, except during the Opening-of-the-Mouth ceremony, where he is represented with all the features of the god Osiris, including the Osiris crown.[65] On the shrines surounding his sarcophagus, where the scenes and texts from the Book of the Dead are shown and which are analogous to the inner chambers of other royal tombs, the king wears the *nms* (with the *sḫmty*) only once, on Shrine II, the

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62 A. Murray, J.G. Milne and W.E. Crum, *The Osireion at Abydos* (London: HIstories and Mysteries of Man, Ltd., 1989), pl. 2, 3, 5, 10 and 13.

63 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 6, pl. 430. Although the text is missing that would identify the night barque, the day barque is named in the associated text. Three of the four headdresses show only a partial view, but it is clear which headdresses are portrayed.

64 The architecture of New Kingdom royal tombs progressively develop from a curved shape in the early Eighteenth Dynasty to a straight shape after the Amarna period and into the Nineteenth Dynasty, as if to allow a deeper access for sunlight. Also, the promenent color of gold on the walls toward the entrance indicates a focus on the sun. In the innermost chambers of Seti I's tomb, however, one sees a prominence of green, which calls to mind Osiris and the earth.

65 *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

third shrine away from the sarcophagus.[66] Another important point is that the king's likeness wears the *nms* on all three of his coffins as well as on his gold funerary mask. Beneath the wrappings, however, the royal mummy wore a *ḫ3t*, which survived only in fragments.[67]

In the royal tomb of Horemhab, like that of Tutankhamun, the king wears only the *nms* in wall scenes in the outer chambers.[68] In the innermost chamber, the sarcophagus chamber, where the scenes and texts of the Book of the Dead are portrayed, the king is depicted as a mummy wearing a *ḫ3t*.[69]

In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the pattern is the same: the king wears only the *nms* in the outer chambers.[70] Like Tutankhamun and Horemhab, he is shown as a mummy wearing the *ḫ3t*. In the innermost chamber, he also wears variants of the *ḫ3t*:[71] three times with only a uraeus, and once with uraeus, tall feathers and ram horns.[72] In the same room two human-headed falcons are depicted wearing the *ḫ3t* with a *sḫmty*.[73]

The *nms* and the *ḫ3t*, then, are associated with one another in a complementary relationship. When the king wears the *nms*, he, the living king, is identifed with Re the

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66 *Ibid.*, fig. 40.

67 Carter, *Tutankhamun*, v. 2, pl. 76.

68 E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* (Bern: Francke, 1971), pl. 1-20.

69 *Ibid.*, pl. 42 and 44.

70 A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, 2 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954), pl. 107.

71 *Ibid.*, pl. 120. In this plate, the king is represented on each side of a door, facing the door. On the right he wears a *nms* with uraeus, and on the left he wears a *ḫ3t* with ureus. It is unusual that both headdresses are striped. This is the only instance of a *ḫ3t* with stripes. Perhaps it is a mistake on the part of the ancient artist, one which reflects the connection between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t*.

72 *Ibid.*, pl. 37, 124, 131 and 133.

73 *Ibid.*, pl. 90.

sun god. When he wears the *ḫ3t*, it is the king's ka, or his deceased, deified form, that is symbolized, and he is connected with Osiris and the Netherworld.

The association of the *ḫ3t* with the king's ka may be reflected in the use of this headdress by Akhenaten. This headdress was more commonly depicted on Akhenaten than on other pharaohs. Also, in a period when elaborate headdresses with many added elements appeared, the only king to wear complex variants of the *ḫ3t* was Akhenaten. Perhaps Akhenaten considered himself more closely identified with his ka than his predecessors did.

At Luxor temple the figures of the royal ka were hacked out by Akhenaten, always leaving, however, the symbol of the upraised ka arms untouched. Bell believes that Akhenaten's intention here may have been to deny any separation between the royal ka and the living person of the king:

> Since the very existence of Amun-Re/Kamutef had been denied, and his physical role was not appropriate to the immaterial, celestial Aten, a basic reinterpretation of the mechanism of transmission of the royal *ka* was necessary. Having excluded every other possibility, we are left with only the king himself, as the Aten incarnate, to be the agent for the transmission of legitimacy.[74]

The *ḫ3t* , then, is related to the rejuvenation of the king and the renewal of life and kingship in the Netherworld, or to the king's ka. The *nms* associates the king with the sun god Re, and represents the real king living in this world. The two headdresses are associated with two complementary aspects of kingship: the living individual king and the deceased king, or his ka. This is the same as Assmann's concept of *nḥḥ* and *ḏt* as two opposite, or complementary, types of eternity (Table 14). Assmann associated *nḥḥ* with the eternal motion of cyclic changes and *ḏt* with eternal permanence, or completion.[75] *nḥḥ* is linked etymologically with the word *ḥḥw*, which means "never ending." *nḥḥ* is

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[74] Bell, "Cult of the Royhal Ka," p. 292.

[75] J. Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975), p. 41.

concerned with periods of time in terms of cycles, like the sun rising and setting, which is never ending. Other cycles are the eternal circling of the stars, the cycles of vegetation growth, as well as the permancence of stone and gold. *ḏt*, on the other hand, is interpreted as *3wt ḏt*, which means "the dimension of *ḏt*," or a turning completed. The sun god returns again as Chepre each morning in eternal change. The sun god sets each evening as Atum, and in his complete night form he is made equal to the god Osiris.[76] That is, Re, *nḥḥ* and eternal cycles are connected, and Osiris, *ḏt* and completions are tied together.

Table 14. *nḥḥ* vs. *ḏt*.

nḥḥ	*dt*
determined with sun	determined with earth
endless time	completions of time
cyclic	linear
Re	Osiris
Amun-Re reborn in each succeeding king through Kamutef theology	king in linear descent from Osiris
change	completion
Khepre-"the one who changes himself"	Atum-"the complete one"

Because of the complementary association between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* these headdresses can be placed in the same paradigm (Table 15).

Table 15. The *nms* vs. the *ḫ3t*.

nms	*ḫ3t*
nḥḥ	*dt*
Re	Osiris
sun	earth
living king	deceased king (king's ka)

The complementary association between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t*, then, is significant not only because the headdresses represent two aspects of kingship, but because this concept of complementarism permeates ancient Egyptian theology.

Conclusion

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76 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The *nms* and the *ḫ3t* are similar in material and form: both appear to have been made from a piece of rectangular cloth, which was placed over the forehead and tied at the back.

The *nms* first appeared in its traditional form as a royal headdress in the Fourth Dynasty, and was frequently depicted on the head of the king. The *nms* also became the typical headdress of the sphinx, beginning in the Fourth Dynasty. The *ḫ3t*, however, was worn by the king only in a prototype form in this period, and it did not appear as a royal headdress in traditional form until the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Several factors show that the *nms* is associated with the sun god Re and that the wearing of this headdress by the king connects him with this god. The earliest representations of a king wearing the *nms* are from the Fourth Dynasty, that in which the *s3 Rʿ* title became part of the royal titulary, referring to the king as the son of Re. Sphinxes, most likely representations of the king and the sun god at the same time, appeared in the Fourth Dynasty as well. The only headdress worn by the sphinx until the Eighteenth Dynasty was the *nms*, and the *nms* and its variants continued to be by far the headdress most commonly seen on the sphinx.

From the Middle Kingdom onward the *ḫ3t* was worn by Isis and Nepthtys in funerary contexts. This is especially so in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the increase of evidence in this period associates the headdress with the renewed life of the king in the Netherworld.

When the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* are compared, their features show them to be at the same time opposite and complementary. The *nms* has more variants than any of the basic crown types, while the *ḫ3t* has relatively few. The *nms* was a crown of coronation, while the *ḫ3t* was not. The *nms* is associated with a sun god, the *ḫ3t* with an earth god.

This complementary opposite relationship between the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* goes far beyond comparisons of its form and use: evidence first appears in the Middle Kingdom

and expands in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties in royal tombs and mortuary temples to show, further, that the *nms* and the *ḫ3t* represent two aspects of the king: the living king and the deceased king (his ka; see p. 86-87).

Chapter Five

Crowns and the God Amun

In previous chapters, the king's identification with Horus, Osiris and Re has been pointed out in connection with crowns associated with these gods. By the time of the reunification of Egypt in the Eleventh Dynasty by King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Amun had come to be an important god in Thebes, and Nebhepetre Mentuhotep was depicted wearing new types of crowns: the Amun Crown and a cap crown referred to *ḫprš*. The Amun Crown and the *ḫprš* must be studied together because both crowns, when worn by the king, appear to reflect his connection with Amun.

Description of the Amun Crown

The Amun Crown consists of a cylinder-shaped cap with a flat top, to which is added a pair of tall feathers or bunches of feathers. It is the headdress most frequently depicted on the god Amun. No examples have survived, and the material from which it was made is not known. The feathers were probably those of a falcon.[1]

Nebhepetre Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty was the first king to be represented wearing the Amun Crown. He is shown with this crown (Fig. 41) with a uraeus on a chapel wall at Dendera.[2] A more elaborate version of this crown was worn by Akhenaten at Amarna (Fig. 42). This headdress is dated to the Early Period at Amarna and consists of the Amun Crown with a uraeus, ram horns and a sun disk.[3]

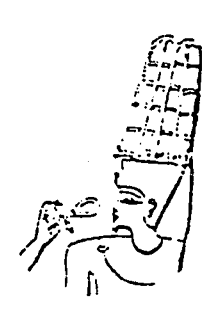
A most complex version of the Amun Crown (Fig. 43) appeared in the Nineteenth Dynasty, worn by Seti I on a relief in his mortuary temple at Abydos. It consists of the

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1 I.Grumach-Shirun, "Federn," p. 143.

2 Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep," p. 26, fig. 8.

3 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 53, fig. 31.


Fig. 41.

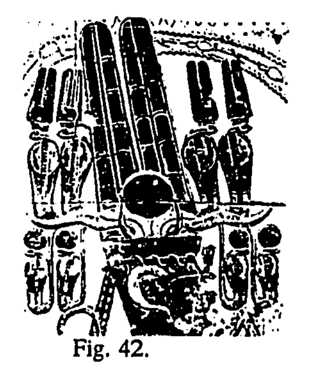

Fig. 42.


Fig. 43.

Crown with a sun disk, a uraeus, ram horns, cow horns, four uraei with sun disks, four more uraei with sun disks and tall feathers, Amun horns, and a *sšd*.[4]

Through the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, when the king wore elaborate versions of most crown types, including the Amun Crown, the god himself was most often depicted wearing the simplest version of the headdress. In the reign of Ramesses II, however, Amun was represented in the hypostyle hall at Karnak with an unusual form of his characteristic crown (Fig. 44).[5] This consisted of the Amun Crown with a *hmhm* as an added element, as well as ram horns, cow horns, and Amun ram horns.

The king was represented wearing the base of the Amun Crown without the tall feathers on only three occasions in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The earliest is that of Tuthmosis I[6] (Fig. 45). In the second example Akhenaten is shown with an elongated version (Fig. 46)[7] having a uraeus, a band of uraei, each of which wears a sun disk and a

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4 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 35.

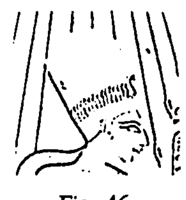
5 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 36.

6 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 23.

7 *Ibid.*, pl. 107. The top portion of the crown is damaged, but there is no doubt that it is an Amun Crown without the tall feathers. The only other crown that has a comparable shape is the *ḫprš*, but this is not a *ḫprš* because there is no ridge.


Fig. 44.


Fig. 45.


Fig. 46.

ribbon. The third variant of the Amun Crown without the tall feathers is one worn by Tutankhamun.[8] This crown is worn only with the uraeus on a wooden statue from his tomb. The purpose of this unusual wooden statue without arms is not known. It is described as the

> head of a 'dummy' of the young Tutankhamun, wearing a compromise between the crown of the kings of Lower Egypt and the headdress of Nefertiti.[9]

Although examples of kings wearing this type of Amun Crown[10] are few, queens of the late Eighteenth Dynasty are frequently represented wearing only the base of the Amun Crown in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Nefertiti's well-known "tall crown" is an elongated version of the headdress. The most elaborate variant of this Amun Crown base,[11] which included a uraeus, a *sšd* with two uraei, cow horns, a sun disk and ribbon, was worn by Nefertiti (Fig. 47) as well. Nefertiti, moreover, was the only queen to wear the Amun Crown complete with its tall feathers. One of these variants of the Amun Crown [12] has a uraeus, ram horns, a sun disk and a ribbon (Fig. 48).

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8 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, pl. 42.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

10 Evidence shows that there was a gradual development in form from the cap crown to the *ḫprš*. One of the crowns which appeared before the traditional form of the *ḫprš* is referred to as an early *ḫprš*, although it looks much more like the lower portion of the Amun Crown. It is worn by Amenhotep I in a relief at Karnak; Davies, "Blue Crown," p. 74 and fig. 14 and K. Mysliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du nouvel empire* (Varsovie: Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1976), pl. 10 and fig. 21. This particular crown was referred to as a traditional *ḫprš* four years before Davies' article by Schmitz; F.J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1978), p. 86.

11 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, p. 104, fig. 51.

12 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 116.

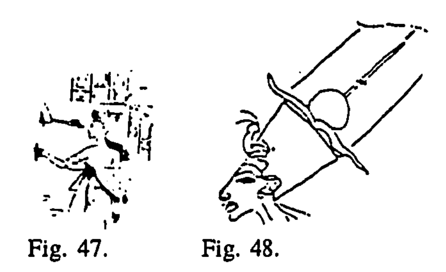


Fig. 47. Fig. 48.

Much later, in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, however, three more variants appear.[13] Two of these are quite elaborate. For example, one variant includes the *3tf* and ram horns as added elements.[14]

Terminology of the Amun Crown

There is no known Egyptian term for the Amun Crown. On one occasion, however, a variant of this crown is called *ḥnw* in a coronation scene of Hatshepsut on a block from Karnak. This Amun Crown has ram horns, cow horns, a sun disk and Amun ram horns. Four uraei wearing sun disks are suspended from the ram horns, and four more uraei wearing sun disks and tall feathers are above. The text of the scene depicting Hatshepsut crowned with this headdress by Amun reads

ḏd-mdw in Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Iwnt s3.t.i mri.t.i M3ʿt-k3-Rʿ sšp.n.ṯ ḥnw n(y) pr dw3
ḥʿj.ṯ jm.f mi 3ḫt.ti sʿnḫ.ṯ ib.w rḫj.t[15]

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[13] A statuette of a Fourth Dynasty king wearing this crown probably came from the Late Period as well. This well-known statuette of Khufu in the Cairo Museum appears to be wearing a crown consisting only of the Amun Crown base. Although referred to as a *dšrt* by Vandier, three views of it by Petrie show that the crown is whole, and it is therefore not a damaged *dšrt*; A. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. and J. Pritchard, 1958) v. 3, pt. 1, fig. 15 and Petrie, *Abydos*, v. 2, pl. 14. The date of the statuette was probably the Twenty-fifth Dynasty because of its stylistic features. Although it was dated to the reign of Khufu by Petrie because it is inscribed with the king's ka name, the style of the statuette is different from that of the alabaster vases found from this king's reign; Z. Hawass, "The Khufu Statuette: Is It an Old Kingdom Sculpture?" *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, Bibliotheque Etude 1 (1985), p. 385-6. It was probably a copy of a Fourth Dynasty statue made in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. During this period the great pyramid of Khufu was re-opened and the cult of Khufu became very important; Hawass, "Khufu Statuette," p. 390-1. Kings of this dynasty are depicted wearing the Amun Crown base; see Am.Cr. #11 through #13.

[14] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 5, pl. 2. See also Am.Cr. # 11 and #13. It is possible that these two Amun Crown variants lack feathers only because the *3tf* is added in their place.

[15] Lacau-Chrevrier, *Hatshepsout*, v. 1, p. 248.

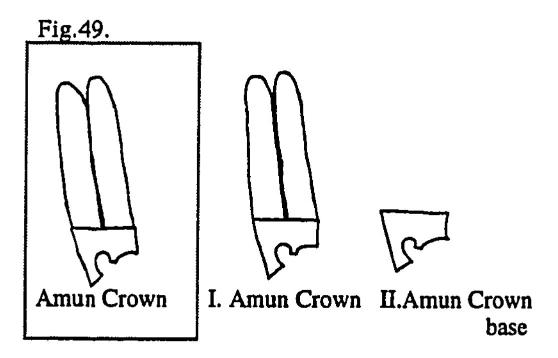
Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Denderah, beloved daughter, Maatkare:
You have received the *ḥnw* crown of the house of the morning. May you appear with it like the two horizons; may you cause the hearts of the common folk to live.

ḥnw is determined by an Amun Crown with ram horns, a sun disk and a uraeus. This is the only instance of the term *ḥnw* with a crown determinative. Most likely, then, *ḥnw* refers only to a particular variant of the Amun Crown.[16] Since the actual representation of the crown is much more elaborate than the determinative of the word, one cannot be sure if *ḥnw* referred only to this one elaborate variant, or to simpler forms as well.

Development of the Amun Crown

The Amun Crown is divided into two subtypes (Fig. 49), one consisting of the full Amun Crown, and the other of the base only.

Fig.49.



The earliest representation of the king wearing the Amun Crown was that of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep in the Eleventh Dynasty.[17] The reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep is, likewise, the earliest period when the god Amun is shown wearing the same headdress.[18] When compared with other crown types, it has relatively few variants.

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[16] Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty is depicted wearing the same elaborate crown (see Am.Cr. #7), but the text does not refer to it. He is shown wearing this headdress in a scene of purification by gods in a shrine to himself in the Osiris Complex of his mortuary temple at Abydos; Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 35.

[17] See Am.Cr. #1.

Variants of the Amun Crown do not become elaborate in the Eighteenth Dynasty, as do those of the *nms* and *sšd.* Yet, one extremely complex variant from the Nineteenth Dynasty is depicted in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.[19]

There are only two variants of the Amun Crown base from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and these two are simple. In the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, however, three variants have other crowns for added elements. Two are combined with the *3tf*, and the third with a *hmhm*.[20]

Significance of the Amun Crown

It is in the late Eleventh Dynasty that the king began to be depicted wearing the Amun Crown. Nebehepetre Mentuhotep was the earliest king represented wearing it, and new variants of this headdress continued to appear through the Twentieth Dynasty. In the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, new developments occurred in the political and religious aspects of kingship as well. This was the time that Egypt was unified again after the period of weak central government known as the First Intermediate Period. The Ninth and Tenth Dynasty ruled Lower Egypt from Herakleopolis and the Eleventh Dynasty ruled from Thebes simultaneously. When Nebhepetre Mentuhotep came to the throne in the late Eleventh Dynasty, he initiated a program to reunite the country. In the fourteenth year of his reign, his Horus name was changed from *S'nḫ-ib-t3wy* (one who makes live the heart of the two lands) to *Nṯri-ḥḏt* (divine one of the white crown). This may indicate the unification of Upper Egypt. In the thirty-ninth year this name was changed again, to *Sm3-*

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[18] See Am. #1.

[19] See Am.Cr. #7.

[20] See Am.Cr. #11, #12 and #16.

t3.wi (uniter of the two lands). This probably signifies a program to unite the entire country, rather than the unification itself.[21]

At the same time Amun had become an important god of Thebes. This is shown by the fact that both Karnak and Luxor temples had become the residence of this god by the Middle Kingdom.[22]

By this time the king had come to be identified with Amun, as well as Min Kamutef, who was associated with Amun, and this is proven by reliefs and their accompanying texts. In a small chapel erected by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep at Dendara, the king wears the Amun Crown in two important scenes. In one of these, he is suckled by Hathor in the presence of Re-Horakhti and another figure. This figure is ithyphallic and has an uplifted arm, which are features of Min Kamutef, and he wears the crown of Amun. The inscription in front of the figure, however, refers to the king: "the good god, lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re, Mentuhotep." Other scenes on Konosso Island (near Philae) from the reign of this king also show figures with features of these gods, while the accompanying texts refer to the king.[23] Furthermore, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep is depicted and worshipped in the form of Amun on a stela at Deir el Bahri.[24]

In the Twelfth Dynasty the king's association with Min Kamutef and Amun is represented more clearly in the Sed Festival chapel of king Sesostris I at Karnak. This was a chapel of the renewal of the king's powers and dedicated to Amun-Re, who was referred to as the father of Sesostris I.[25] In this same dynasty Amun was called *ḥri-tp t3wi*, "chief

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21 L. Gestermann, *Kontinuität und Wandel in Politik und Verwaltung des Frühen Mittleren Reiches in Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987), p. 39.

22 E. Otto, "Amun," *LÄ* I, p. 239.

23 Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep," p. 41-43 and p. 51-52.

24 E. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, pl. 26.

25 P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I a Karnak* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1956), p. 38.

of the two lands,"[26] thus identfiying him as king. The wearing of the Amun Crown by the king, then, was a statement that he was a physical form of the god Amun.

By the Eighteenth Dynasty the nature of the king's identification with Amun changed as the Kamutef theology reached the climax of its development. The literal meaning of *k3 mwt.f* is "bull of his mother." According to this theology, Amun was reborn in, or took on the new outward form of, each succeeding king. This was accomplished through a union between the queen and the god Amun, who approached the queen in the outward form of the king. Amun was reborn in the child of this union, and this son would be the king's successor. Consequently the queen (Amun's spouse of this union) became the mother of Amun as well. This indicates a union of two generations of the same god.[27] Both Amun and Min were referred to as Kamutef from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward.[28] It occurs as an epithet, for instance, following the titulary of Tuthmosis I on an obelisk at Karnak:

mry Imn R' k3 mwt.f di.(w) 'nḫ ḏt[29]

Beloved of Amun-Re Kamutef, given life forever.

The Kamutef theology is expressed in the scenes of divine birth represented on the walls of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahri.[30] Similar scenes of the divine birth of

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26 Otto, "Amun," p. 243.

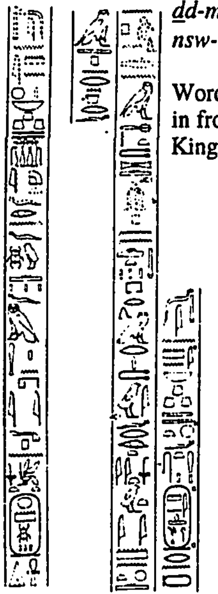
27 H. Jacobsohn, *Die Dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York: J.J. Augustin, 1939), p. 13-15.

28 Jacobsohn, "Kamutef," p. 308-309.

29 *Urk.* IV, p. 93.

30 B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topgraphical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings: Theban Temples*, 2nd ed., revised and augmented (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). p. 348-49.

Amenhotep III are represented in the temple of Luxor at Thebes.[31] The king's divine conception and birth is described:



ḏd-mdw in Imn-Rʿ nb nswt-t3wy ḫnt Ipt.f ir(y).n.f ḫprw.f m ḥm n hy pn nsw-bit Mn-ḫprw-Rʿ di.(w) ʿnḫ

Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands who is in front of his Ipet after he has made his forms as the majesty of this husband, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperure, given life.

ḏd-mdw in Imn-Rʿ nb nswt-t3wy ḫft ḥmt.s Imn-ḥtp ḥk3 w3st rn n(y) ẖrd pn d.n.i m ẖt.ṯ ṯsw pn n(y) md.w pr(y) m r3.ṯ iw.f r irt nsyt m t3 pn r-ḏr.f[32]

Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands in front of her majesty. Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes is the name of this child of your body, this joining of words having come forth from your mouth. He will do efficacious kingship in this entire land.

It was through the Kamutef that the transmission of the ka of kingship took place. This process connected the ruler to the line of kings who were his ancestors. In each reign, but especially when the legitimacy of a particular ruler was open to doubt, the royal ka was the device which clarified the ruler's legitimacy: it was possessed only by genuine kings.[33]

In the reign of Amenhotep III Luxor temple was built for the purpose of the transmission of the ka of kingship in connection with the Kamutef theology through the performace of the rituals of the Feast of Opet.[34] Through these rituals, the king's connection with his ka reached its highest point. When the king performed the rituals of

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 326-27.

[32] H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pl. 4.

[33] Bell, "Cult of the Royal Ka," p. 258.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

the Opet Festival, his ka was renewed or restored, and his right to rule was reconfirmed. This ka symbolized the legitimacy of his inheritance and his acknowledgment by Amun-Re.[35]

How does one explain the use of the Amun Crown in the Amarna period? It was worn by both Akhenaten and Nefertiti during a time known for its antagonism toward Amun-Re. What was the significance of a queen wearing the Amun Crown? Nefertiti wore the full Amun Crown, while other queens from the reign of Amenhotep III until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty were depicted with only the base. One wonders why the Amun Crown would even be worn by rulers antagonistic toward that god, however, but there is most likely a connection to the special cultic role queens had in the Kamutef theology.

Already in the Twelfth Dynasty Hathor was associated with renewal of life in the Netherworld in relief on tomb walls. In the tomb of Antefoker (reign of Sesostris I) a Hathor festival is depicted showing music, dancing and the presentation of the menat and sistrum.[36] The story of Sinuhe from the same period identifies the queen with Hathor. When Sinuhe is brought before the queen after his return to Egypt, it is the queen and her children that bestow emblems of Hathor, the menat and sistrum:

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[36] Davies and Gardiner, *Antefoker*, p. 22. .Similar scenes are represented in the tomb of Ukhhotep at Meir; A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 2 vols. (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915), v. 2, pl. 15.

sṯ3t msw nsw ḏd.in ḥm.f n ḥmt nsw m S3-nht iw m 'm ḳm3 m`Styw wd.s sbḥ '3 wrt msw nsw m dyt w't....ist r.f in(y).n.sn mniwt.sn sẖmw.sn sššwt.sn m.sn m iṯi in.sn st n ḥm.f '.wy.k r nfrt nsw w3ḥ ẖkry.t nt nbt pt di nbw 'nẖ r fnd.k ẖnm.t nbt sb3w[37]

The royal children having been brought in, his majesty spoke to the queen: behold Sinuhe who has come as an Asiatic, produced by Asiatics. She gave out a great cry and the royal children one shriek.... Lo, to him they brought their menat necklaces, their *sẖm* sistra and their *sššt* sistra with them, taken by them to his majesty. May your arms be toward the beautiful one, enduring king, the ornaments of the lady of heaven. May the Golden One give life to your nose, the Lady of the Stars joined to you.

Golden One is a common epithet of Hathor, the earliest examples coming from the reign of Sesostris I. Lady of the Stars is also known as an epithet of this goddess.[38]

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the queen's increasing importance was reflected in art and architecture and her identification with Hathor was expressed in theology. The queen's role as Hathor was connected with the regeneration of the sun god Re in each succeeding king and the king as Horus the sky god, son of Hathor.[39] Examples of art and architecture reflect the queen's importance and her connection with Hathor. Large statues of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy made of equal size can be seen in the Cairo Museum. At Sedeinga a temple was built for Queen Tiy as a companion temple to the one built for Amenhotep III at Soleb. At Abu Simbel, a similar companion temple was built for Queen Nefertari next to that of Ramesses II. In these temples the king was connected with Amun, and the queen was associated with Hathor.

In the New Kingdom there is much evidence that Hathor was associated with Amun Re in the renewal of kingship and of life in the Netherworld for the deceased. It is in the Eighteenth Dynasty that the Beautiful Festival of the Desert Valley began to be celebrated. The purpose of this festival was the renewal of life in the Netherworld for the deceased. It was accomplished by Amun-Re and Hathor. This festival was celebrated during the

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37 A.M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), p. 37-38.

38 A.H. Gardiner, *Notes On the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1916), p. 104.

39 Daumas, "Hathor," p. 1025.

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, and decreased in importance rapidly from that point onward.[40] This period parallels that in which the queen was significant in the royal cult and identified with Hathor.

By the reign of Akhenaten, the queen had achieved so much importance that Nefertiti even wore kingly crowns. Furthermore, there is evidence that Nefertiti was worshipped along with Akhenaten. When the second pylon of the Temple of Amun at Karnak was dissected for the purpose of reconsolidating it, the inner core contained blocks from the time of Akhenaten, which had been reused as filling by Haremhab. These blocks came from temples built at Karnak by Akhenaten before the move to Amarna. Usually the representations show Akhenaten, accompanied by Nefertiti worshipping the sun disk. Some of the blocks, however, can be reconstructed to form rectangular pillars of a different structure. These have scenes which show Nefertiti alone worshipping the Aten.[41]

There is other evidence of Nefertiti's special status as well. The Egyptian term *dw3*, meaning to worship, and the object of this word is normally a god or a king. The hymns to the Aten begin with *dw3* of the Aten, of Akhenaten and of Nefertiti. All three are worshipped, and no distinction is made among the three, except the order in which they are named.[42]

In the temple of Amenhotep III at Soleb, this king is represented worshipping himself, i.e., his ka, and Akhenaten is shown worshipping Amenhotep III. This is dated to the latter part of the Amarna period, because the name of Amenhotep IV appears as Akhenaten. The period of destruction of the gods' images, especially those of Amun, as well as the excising of Amun's name is thought to have taken place at the time of the move

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40 E. Graefe, "Talfest," *LÄ* VI, p. 187-88.

41 J.A. Wilson, "Akh-en-Aton and Nefert-iti," *JNES* 32 (1973), p. 237.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 239. See also H. Schäfer, "Altes und Neues zur Kunst und Religion von Tell el-Amarna," *ZÄS* 55 (1918), p. 3-6.

to Amarna.[43] This temple, where Amenhotep III worshipped himself, was erected for Amun-Re. In the scenes with Akhenaten, the first scene shows him crowned by Re; in the second scene he is depicted receiving the sign of life from his father; the third scene shows him kneeling while Atum and Re crown him; the next scene depicts Akhenaten incensing and libating his father; the last scene shows Akhenaten worshipping Amun.[44] What all this means is that by the time that Akhenaten had already launched a campaign against the worship of Amun, he was represented at Soleb worshipping his father Amenhotep III and the god Amun-Re. Later, when the gods and the name of Amun were expunged, the scenes of Amenhotep III in which his deified form was being worshipped by Akhenaten were left intact.

Perhaps the use of the Amun Crown by Akhenaten served to legitimize him as the true heir to the throne. He did, after all, wear other traditional crowns, which were also tied to gods whose worship he would not allow. Why did Nefertiti wear sometimes the Amun Crown and other times only the Amun Crown base? The prayers addressing her as a goddess, the remnants of a temple belonging to her, and the kingly crowns she wore point to an equality with the king, but other evidence shows that she had a secondary role: diminutive crowns, such as the frequent representations of her with the Amun Crown base; representations of her with Akhenaten in which she wore a diminutive version of the headdress worn by the king (see Fig. 13 in Ch. 3 and Fig. 39).

Description of the *ḫprš*

The royal headdress referred to by the Egyptians as *ḫprš* consists of two types of crowns: the cap crown and the *ḫprš* crown. These have in common their ancient Egyptian

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43 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 24.

44 J. Leclant, "Soleb," *LÄ* V, p. 1077-78.

name, as well as a decorative feature: circlets. The Kushite cap, worn only by the Ethiopian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, has a shape that is not Egyptian although it is definitely another type of cap crown. These three royal headdresses are tied together because evidence indicates that they are associated with Amun when the king is identified with this god, or that they are connected with each other. Although the cap crown is referred to in texts as *ḫprš* until the traditional *ḫprš* appeared, it will always be referred to as the cap crown here, for the sake of clarity. The cap crown is treated as a headdress separate from the *ḫprš*, although both were referred to as *ḫprš* by the ancient Egyptians. The reason is that when the cap crown reappearred in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties alongside the traditional *ḫprš*, it appears to have a significance different from, but connected with, that of the *ḫprš*. Also, this cap crown was no longer referred to as *ḫprš* by the ancient Egyptians.

The cap crown is a tight-fitting cap conforming to the shape of the head, although those of the Amarna period have an elongated shape in keeping with the artistic conventions of the time. The texture is either smooth, covered with striations or with circlets. It is yellow or gold when represented in color.[45]

In the Old Kingdom it is difficult to distinguish a cap crown from a close-cropped head in representations. A statue of Pepi II[46] seems to be without hair and may be a cap crown, since the uraeus rests directly on the head and there is a line which appears to depict a sweatband around the forehead. Other examples from the Old Kingdom have striations

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45 There are only two exceptions. A painted sandstone stela (Ashmolean Museum No. 1893.175) of Sesostris I from Buhen has the remains of blue paint on the crown and red paint on the uraeus; Davies, "Blue Crown," p. 72, fig. 5a. A relief of a king and queen from Amarna (Berlin No.150-00) shows the queen wearing a blue cap crown; Ertman, "Cap Crown of Nefertiti," p. 63.

46 Vandier, *Manuel*, v. 2, pl. 1-2.

which could represent hair, such as an alabaster head of Shepseskaf[47] from the Fourth Dynasty. Russman summarized the features of Old Kingdom cap crowns:

> It appears that the head is covered, because the uraeus is attached directly to the front, and the tabs in front of the ears have smooth surfaces. But the rather closely spaced, horizontal striations which cover the head are not unlike those conventionally used to simulate close-cropped hair on non-royal individuals in the Old Kingdom, so perhaps this is meant to be a wig. The horizontal lines reappear on the close-fitting headdress in the Fifth Dynasty, but in the Sixth Dynasty the same shape is shown with a smooth surface, both on sculpture in the round and in relief. [48]

The cap crown, not seen on the king during the Eighteenth Dynasty[49], was represented on several queens from the Amarna period to the end of that dynasty. It was first worn by Nefertiti with the addition of a ribbon, and she was represented wearing the actual *ḫprš* crown as well. A new variant which had two uraei wearing sun disks was worn by Meritaten, wife of Smenkhare, and another which had circlets like the *ḫprš* crown, by Anksenamun, wife of Tutankhamun.[50]

The Kushite cap appeared only in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. During this period the *ḫprš* crown was not worn at all by the Ethiopian king Two new variants of the cap crown,

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47 Aldred, *Egypt...Old Kingdom*, p. 114.

48 E. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), p. 29-30.

49 From the beginning of the Amarna period to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, generally only the queen wore the cap crown. Two kings, however, were depicted with headdresses which may be cap crowns. One of these is a close-fitting cap found on the head of Tutankhamun beneath the mummy wrappings. It was ornamented with four uraei done in beadwork and inscribed with the royal titulary of the Aten; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, p. 224, fig. 135. Either this headdress is an unusual Amarna variant of the cap crown and the only real surviving example, or it is a special cap made for a special reason for the mummy of Tutankhamun. There are no other cap crowns with more than one uraeus until the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and no cap crowns have been found on other royal mummies.

The other possible cap crown worn by a king during the Eighteenth Dynasty is that seen on a statue of a king thought to be Ay, now in the Cairo Museum; Desroches-Nobleourt, *Tutankhamun*, p. 277, fig. 178. The face of this statue has life-like fetures, but the head is smooth with a line around the forehead, and there is a flattened oval shape where the uraeus would be placed. This could be a cap crown with uraeus, or a shape over which another headdress was meant to be placed. A statue of Tuthmosis II from Deir el Medineh wears a cap crown with uraeus, but it may well have been made in a much later period: Davies, "Blue Crown," p. 75.

50 See Q. #12 through #15.

however, appeared in the same dynasty.[51] Both of these have double uraei wearing the *ḥḏt* and the *dšrt*, and the latter headdress has Amun horns as well. The Kushite cap is clearly non-Egyptian in form. Yet, its significance as an Egyptian royal headdress may be indicated by the pattern of headdresses worn by these foreign rulers. They are depicted wearing all the traditional crowns, i.e., the *ḥḏt*, *dšrt*, *sḫmty*, *nms* and *ḫ3t*, as well as complex variants of these, except for the *ḫprš*. Russman believes that this headress replaced the *ḫprš* in function.[52]

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the cap crown was worn earliest by Tuthmosis II.[53] Although there are few variants of this headdress, an unusual version was found on the mummy of Tutankhamun. It is decorated with four uraei and has cartouches with the titulary of the Aten.[54] A later version depicted on Seti I[55] of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Fig. 50) has circlets like the *ḫprš* as well as a ribbon.

No actual *ḫprš* crowns have survived to the present. This headdress is either smooth in texture or decorated with circlets. When portrayed in color, it is blue. The shape of the *ḫprš* crown is like a tall cap, bulbous at the front, with an angle at the back that rises from a ridge along the sides of the crown. The material from which it was made is not known. It is thought that the crown was made of leather with circlets of metal attached like a form of armor. The crown itself may have been made of metal, however, because of its blue color .[56]

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51 See Ca.Cr. #10 and #11.

52 Russman, *Representation of the King*, p. 28-29.

53 M.B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur le fouilles de Deir el-Medinéh*, 26 vols. (Le Caire: Imprimerie l'institut Francais, 1952), v. 16, fig. 2.

54 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, p. 224.

55 Calverley, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 32.

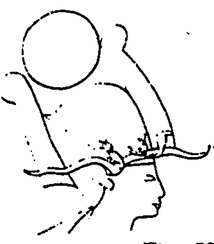
56 Steindorff, "Königskrone," p. 60-61.

Unlike the cap crown, the *ḫprš* appeared in ornate variant forms in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. One, worn by Seti I in a relief[57] (Fig. 51) in his temple at Abydos, has a uraeus, ram horns, *šwty*, a sun disk and an Amun horn. Another *ḫprš* (Fig. 52) worn by the same king[58] has an Amun horn from which two serpent heads protrude. One wears a *ḥḏt* while the other wears a *dšrt*.


Fig. 50.


Fig. 51.


Fig.. 52.


Fig. 53.

An ornate *ḫprš* (Fig. 53) from theTwentieth Dynasty is depicted on Ramesses III in a relief at Medinet Habu.[59] This *ḫprš* has a uraeus, ram horns, *šwty*, a sun disk, and a second uraeus wearing an Osiris crown.

In the Twenty-fifth Ethiopian Dynasty, the non-Egyptian origin of the kings is reflected in the form of cap crowns worn by them. Although these kings continued to wear the traditional Egyptian cap crown,[60] they were portrayed in another type of cap crown called the Kushite cap. It

> consisted of two parts, a closely fitted skullcap which came down low over the forehead with rounded tabs in front of the ears, and a cloth band which could be plain or decorated with a row of cobras along its upper edge. The bandeau was tied in back and the ends fell free to the shoulders. The uraei, usually double, were attached to the front of the band, with their tails extending up over the top of the cap and down behind to the trailing streamers.... Representations in the round usually show it covered with incised circlets just like those of the blue crown.[61]

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57 Calverley, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 44.

58 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 38.

59 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 4, pl. 237.

60 See Ca.Cr. #11 through #13.

61 Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 28.

The Egyptian cap crown embraces the entire skull to the back of the neck, while the Kushite cap goes only halfway down the back of the head, giving this cap a bowl shape. This headdress also has a flattened ridge around the top. The circumference of this ridge varies from as large as the lower portion (Fig. 54a) to as small as a button (Fig. 54b). Sometimes the top is simply rounded (Fig. 54c).[62]

Fig. 54a. b. c.

Terminology of *ḫprš*

ḫprš occurs earliest in the Eleventh Dynasty, and the determinative of the word is a cap crown instead of a *ḫprš*. Davies traced a development of the cap crown into the *ḫprš* and found two instances of the term: a limestone statuette from the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el Bahri listed the *ḫprš* as a crown among the insignia of royal power;[63] a text on a stela of Neferhotep III from the Thirteenth Dynasty describes the king as

> *ʿpr.(w) m ḫprš*[64]
>
> Equipped with the *ḫprš*

ḫprš is earliest attested as the name of the traditional *ḫprš*, however, in the Eighteenth Dynasty and is interpreted as "blue crown."[65] This definition apparently refers to the *ḫprš* in its traditional form, and, as such, this is the earliest date of its appearance.

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62 *Ibid.*, fig. 7, 19 and 25.

63 Davies, "Blue Crown," p. 70 and pl. 8.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 70 and pl. 7.

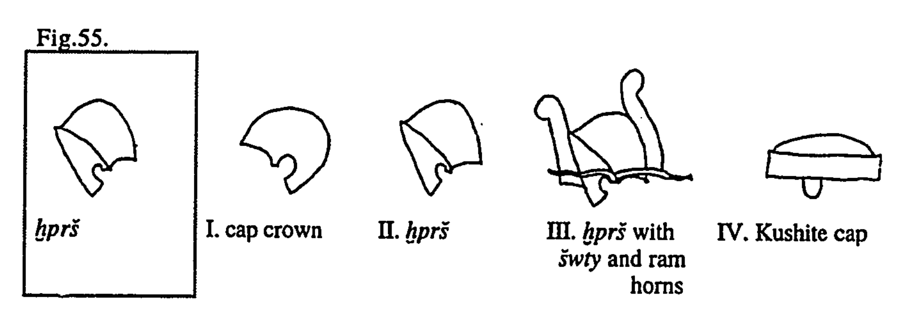
65 *Wb.* III, p. 268.

There are no known Egyptian terms for the headdress peculiar to the Kushite kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. It is referred to by scholars as the "Kushite cap."[66]

Development of the *ḫprš*

The cap crown and the Kushite cap are considered as subtypes of the *ḫprš* (Fig. 55) for several reasons: since the Egyptian term first referred to a cap crown and later on to the traditional *ḫprš*, the two headdresses must be connected; the Kushite cap was used in place of the cap crown during the rule of the Ethiopian kings, and therefore must be related to it in significance. Also, the *ḫprš* variants which include *šwty* and ram horns are treated as a separate subtype from the *ḫprš* itself because the number of crowns in this catagory imply that this is a combined headdress consisting of the *ḫprš* and *šwty* with ram horns.

Fig.55.



What appear to be crown prototypes from the Old Kingdom may actually be representations of close-cropped hair.[67] The earliest actual cap crown is that of Menkhaure Senaib from the Thirteenth Dynasty, and only one variant occurs until the Eighteenth Dynasty.[68] At the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a prototype of the *ḫprš* (#1) is depicted on Ahmosis, the founder of the dynasty and the king who reunified Egypt after the Second Intermediate Period.

66 Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 32.

67 See Ca.Cr. #1 and #2.

68 See Ca.Cr. #4 and #5.

Cap crowns from the Second Intermediate Period vary in shape and are often elongated. The changes in the shape of the cap crown during this peiod are one factor which led Davies to believe that the cap crown developed into the *ḫprš* crown of the New Kingdom. Of nine examples, which belong to the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, all are smooth in textures except for two from the Thirteenth Dynasty.[69] One of these has cross-hatch lines (Fig. 47a), and the other has circlets (Fig. 47b) which resemble locks of hair.

The first true *ḫprš* crown was worn by Tuthmosis I.[70] By the reign of Seti I in the Nineteenth Dynasty the cap crown, which had ceased to be represented when the *ḫprš* crown appeared, was again represented on the king.[71] This cap crown had a distinct shape, unlike those preceding the appearance of the *ḫprš*. The term *ḫprš*, moreover, now referred to the *ḫprš* crown, while the cap crown was no longer mentioned in texts. At the same time that the cap crown was again seen on the head of the king, the *ḫprš* crown appeared in the form of increasingly elaborate variants onward through the reign of Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty.[72]

Significance of *ḫprš*

From the First Dynasty through the Twelfth Dynasty, there are so few representations of the cap crown that it is impossible to even speculate on a significance of this headdress that early. From the Thirteenth Dynasty through the Seventeenth, the cap crown was depicted somewhat more frequently, and it continued to have either a smooth surface or a texture resembling short locks of hair. The shape, however, changed and had

69 Davies, "Blue Crown," p. 71-73.

70 See *ḫprš* #4.

71 See Ca.Cr. #6.

72 See *ḫprš* #10 through #13.

more variety, until it developed into the traditional *ḫprš* of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Table 16).

The cap crown is not seen again after the first appearance of the *ḫprš* until the Amarna period. From that point until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it was worn by the queens Nefertiti, Ankhsenamun and Meritaten.[73] One can only speculate that it was somehow associated with the queen's special role during the Amarna period.

In the Nineteenth Dynasty, the cap crown was again worn by the king. It was no longer referred to as the *ḫprš*, and the situations in which it was worn indicate that its significance now differed from the *ḫprš*. It is thought that the use of this crown by the king implies that he wore it in his role as a priest when he was before a god. The reason for this view is that was worn only when the king was inside the temple before the god in his sanctuary.[74]

Table 16. Time span for new variants of the cap crown and *ḫprš*.

1-3	4	5	11	18	19	20-30
			cap crown	cap crown-queen	cap crown-king	
				ḫprš		

Although in texts the term *ḫprš* always refers to the crown and never to the cap, the use of this term for both headdresses implies a connection between the two. Furthermore, there are scenes in which both the cap crown and the *ḫprš* are represented in a manner that suggests the cap is a headdress that is subsidiary to the crown. In these scenes, either the king wears the *ḫprš* while the queen wears the cap crown, or the king is represented twice wearing both headdresses. This point will be elaborated upon later in this chapter.

The significance of the *ḫprš* crown has long been unclear and several questions have been debated by scholars: what is the English term by which the *ḫprš* should be

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73 See Q.#10, #12 and #13.

74 Ertman, "Cap Crown of Nefertiti," p. 64.

called; is this crown associated with war; was the *ḫprš* more frequently worn and of greater importance than other types of royal headdresses in the New Kingdom.

The earliest scholars to study the *ḫprš* considered its significance in terms of its form. Borchardt believed that this headdress was a wig and that the circlets represented curls of hair. His opinion was based in particular on a relief and a statue of a woman of the Middle Kingdom, both of which have small locks of hair similar to the circlets on the *ḫprš*. Furthermore, he considered the cap crown of the New Kingdom to be a type of *ḫprš* and used its shape to support his argument that the latter crown was actually a wig .[75] This view was later opposed because the crown and the circlets are represented in colors that were not used to depict hair in Egypt.[76] Wigs in the New Kingdom, however, were frequently represented in blue like the *ḫprš*, such as those of Tutankhamun and Ankhesanamun on the back of the golden throne from Tutankhamun's tomb.

The *ḫprš* was thought to be a war helmet by some early scholars, and is sometimes still referred to as the "war crown." Hassan believed the *ḫprš* was a war helmet because this crown was the only one worn in war since the time of the Hyksos. Neither the crown, moreover, nor the term for it existed before the Hyksos period.[77]

The *ḫprš* crown is thought to be associated with war, because it was worn so frequently during the New Kingdom when Egypt built its empire. In actuality, though, the king did not always wear the *ḫprš* in battle. Many reliefs from the New Kingdom show the king wearing other crowns into battle and while slaying prisoners. King Seti I is represented at Karnak in eleven military scenes: in only four of these does he wear the *ḫprš*; in the remaining seven, he wears the cap crown once, the *dšrt* twice, and the wig four

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75 L. Borchardt, "Der sogenannte Kriegshelm," *ZÄS* 42 (1905), p. 82.

76 Von Bissing, "Casque ou perruque," p. 160.

77 Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, p. 184-5.

times .[78] In the small temple at Abu Simbel, Ramesses II wears the *sḫmty* and the *dšrt* in two similar scenes.[79] Also at Karnak, Ramesses III is shown in two scenes smiting enemies; in one he wears the *ḥḏt*, and in the other he wears the *dšrt*.[80]

The *ḫprš*, then, cannot be associated specifically with war. The king wore this crown in many other types of situations, as well. For instance, the *ḫprš* was the most commonly worn headdress when the king is depicted before the sacred boats of deities from the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Dynasties (see Table 20, p. 115). Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty is depicted with this crown while offering emblems of kingship and other sacred emblems to Osiris, and while censing Amun.[81] The king was also represented as a child wearing the *ḫprš* while he was nursed by various goddesses.[82]

The *ḫprš* is thought to be the headdress predominantly worn by the king from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward because of the frequency with which it is seen in reliefs. Gardiner, in fact, believed that by the Eighteenth Dynasty the *ḫprš* replaced other crowns in a sort of change of fashion. He came to this conclusion because the coronation text of Horemhab alluded in particular to this crown alone. Also, the general term for crowns, *ḫ'w*, was determined with a *ḫprš* crown .[83] In reality, however, *ḫ'w* had a variety of crowns as determinatives: the *ḥḏt*, the *sḫmty* and the *3tf*, as well as the *ḫprš*.[84]

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78 H. Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936-1986), v. 4, pl. 3, 4-6, 12, 15, 17, 27-28, 31 and 34.

79 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2 pl. 33.

80 Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions*, v. 1, pl. 4-5.

81 Calverley and Gardiner, *Sethos I*, v. 1, pl. 10-11 amd 13; v. 4, pl. 47.

82 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 35, 131 and 173.

83 A. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *JEA* 39 (1953), p. 27.

84 *Wb.* III, p. 241.

Undoubtedly, however, the *ḫprš*, had become one of the most important crowns by the Eighteenth Dynasty. Scholars have associated the *ḫprš* with the god Amun, but the specific connection between Amun and the *ḫprš* has not been clearly pointed out. For instance, Bruyère observed that at Deir el Medineh, Amenhotep I was depicted wearing only three different crowns: the *nms*, the *ḫprš* and the *šwty*.[85] The *nms* symbolized the king as ruler over Lower Egypt under the sponsorship of Re-Horakhti, while the *ḫprš* represented him as ruler over Upper Egypt under the tutelage of Amun-Re [86]

There is much more evidence pointing to an association between the *ḫprš* and Amun, and between the king and Amun when he wears the *ḫprš*. The development of the *ḫprš* from a cap into its traditional form and the increase in the frequency of its use parallel the rise of the god Amun and of the Egyptian empire (Table 17).

Table 17. The development of the *ḫprš* and the building of the Egyptian empire.

1550-1525 B.C.	Ahmosis - fall of Avaris, Hyksos capital, Egypt reunified	*ḫprš* prototype with uraeus
1525-1504	Amenhotep I - extended Egypt's boundaries - Nubia campaign	*ḫprš* prototype with uraeus
1504-1492	Thutmosis I - extended empire across Euphrates	*ḫprš* with uraeus
1479-1425	Thutmosis III - conquered Syria-Palestine, battle of Megiddo	
1401-1391	Thutmosis IV	*ḫprš* with uraeus, circlets and ribbon
1306-1290	Seti I	*ḫprš* with uraeus, ram horns and *šwty*

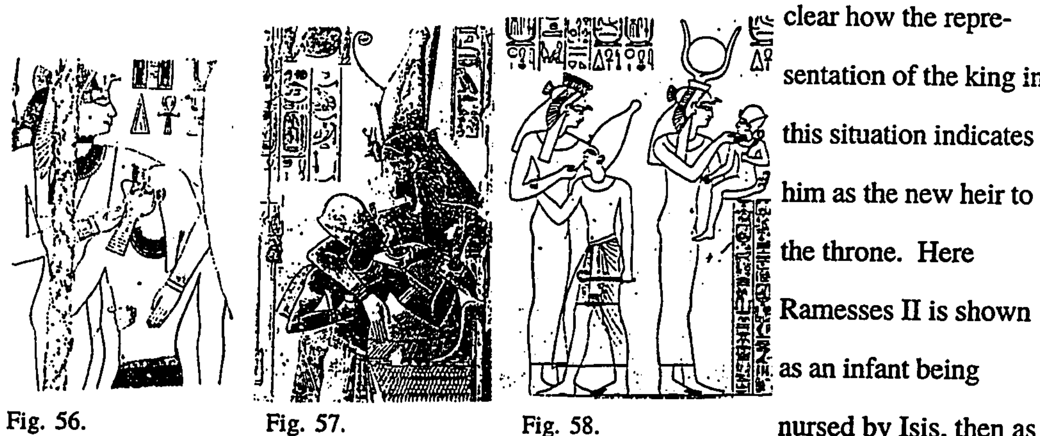
Through rituals associated with the Kamutef theology, kingship was renewed through the regeneration of Amun in each ruler. These rituals, found in scenes of the Opet Festival depicted on the walls of Luxor temple (see also p. 96-98), are concerned with the

[85] Bruyère refers to this crown as the "Busirite *3tf*." This is presumably because these feathers are worn by the god Andjeti of Busiris; Bruyère, *Deir el-Medineh*, v. 16, p. 176.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

renewal of divine kingship and the regeneration of Amun. At the conclusion of the Opet Festival rituals the king is crowned with the *ḫprš* by Amun.[87]

The living king is depicted as a new heir to the throne when he was shown as an infant or small child suckled by a goddess. Much earlier, in the Fifth Dynasty, King Sahure was depicted in this manner,[88] but he wears a *nms* (Fig. 56). In the Eighteenth Dynasty, many scenes of the king as an infant suckled by a goddess, however, depict him wearing the *ḫprš*. An example is shown at the entrance to the chapel of Amun-Re in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, where Seti is shown (Fig. 57) being suckled by Mut, the spouse of Amun-Re.[89] An unusual scene in this same temple (Fig. 58) makes even more clear how the representation of the king in this situation indicates him as the new heir to the throne. Here Ramesses II is shown as an infant being nursed by Isis, then as a boy suckled by Hathor: as an infant the king wears the *ḫprš*, and as a boy he wears the *ḥḏt*.[90] The text in the scene with the *ḫprš* is explicit regarding the status of the king as a child, while that with the *ḥḏt* merely indicates nourishment of the king by the goddess when he receives the crown:


Fig. 56. Fig. 57. Fig. 58.

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87 Bell, "Cult of the Royal Ka," p. 276.

88 Borchardt, *Königs Sahure*, pl. 18.

89 Calverley and Gardiner, *Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 23.

90 K. Bosse-Griffiths, "The Great Enchantress in the Little Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun," *JEA* 59 (1973), fig. 1.



ḏd mdw.w in 3s.t n s3.s Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ.w šsp.i ṯw ʿ.wi.i ḥr ḥpt.k m ẖrd pr(y).n.k im r nsw mnḫ.t ḫʿi.ti m ḫprš

Words spoken by Isis to her son Usermatre Setepenre. I receive you, my two arms having embraced you as a child. You have gone forth from there as a king efficacious, crowned with the *khepresh* crown.



ḏd mdw.w in ḥwt-ḥrw nb(.t) Iwn.t ḥri.t-ib 3b(ḏw) snḳ.n.k m irṯ.t-i iw.k ḫʿi.ti m ḥḏt[91]

Words spoken by Hathor, lady of Denderah which is in Abydos. When you suckle with my milk you are crowned with the white crown.

The *ḫprš* is the headdress most frequently worn when the king is represented the form of small squatting figures of a child with a finger to his mouth. One example is a tiny gold statuette of Amenhotep III found in a small mummiform coffin in Tutankhamun's tomb. [92] Out of seven such figures of Akhenaten, five wear the *ḫprš* and one has an Amun Crown.[93] Tutankhamun is represented with the features of a child on two child-size staffs, one gold and one silver.[94] On both he wears the *ḫprš*. Ramesses II, wearing this crown, is shown as a newborn child formed by the god Khnum on his potter's wheel.[95] Whenever the king was depicted in this manner, he wore the *ḫprš* or the sidelock of youth.

Two representations of Tutankhamun wearing the *ḫprš* are unusual and must be noted because they associate this crown with renewed life. In one of these, he is represented four times on a cartouche-shaped box found in his tomb.[96] On one side he is

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91 *Ibid.*

92 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, pl. 3a.

93 E. Feucht, "Verjungung und Wiedergeburt," *SAK* 11 (1984), pl. 13a and fig. 2, p. 405.

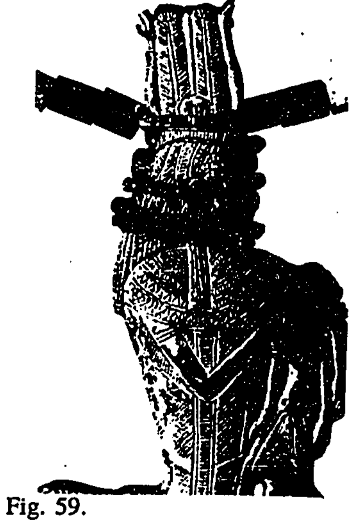
94 I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), p. 97.

95 Feucht, "Verjungung," fig. 3 and pl. 407.

96 Edwards, *Treasures*, pl. 11.

shown twice as a child with a sidelock. The images face each other, and each is enclosed in a cartouche. On the opposite side of the box, two more images of the king as a child face each other, both inside cartouches but wearing *ḫprš* crowns instead of sidelocks. The representations of the king with the sidelocks are alike, but those in which he wears the *ḫprš* differ: in one the king's face is gold while the crown is blue, and in the other both his face and his crown are black.[97] The black color is not due to discoloration of the gold, because another representation of the same king shows this same coloration. Here Tutankhamun is depicted on a pectoral as a child between the two deities Ptah and Sekhmet.[98] Both his face and his *ḫprš* crown are again colored black. The god Osiris, who symbolizes fertility and new life, is sometimes depicted with a black face, and Plutarch associated this feature with moist fertility.[99] Hence, fertility or new life is connected with the king wearing the *ḫprš*.

The small golden shrine of Tutankhamun found in his tomb shows an even stronger association between the *ḫprš*, the child king being suckled by a goddess, and fertility. Inside the shrine, a necklace was found wrapped in strips of linen, and appears to have been deliberately placed inside the shrine. On one side of its pendant (Fig. 59), Tutankhamun, wearing a *ḫprš*, is depicted as a small child being suckled by the cobra goddess, Weret-hekau. The other side of the pendant has a text which is translated:


Fig. 59.

[97] This box has been interpreted to represent the king in three stages of life: childhood, adulthood and death; Silverman, "Cryptographic Writing," p. 236.

[98] Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 100.

[99] J.G. Griffith, "Osiris" *LÄ* IV, p. 628.

May the King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, Nebkheperure, given life, beloved of Weret-hekau, Lady of Heaven.[100]

Furthermore, the predominant crown worn by the king in the seventeen scenes on the inner and outer walls of this shrine is the *ḫprš* (Table 18).

Table 18. The king's headdresses on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun.

ḫprš	8
wig	5
sšd	2
nms	1
dšrt	1

The gold shrine itself was found inside the room called the annex by Carter. Scholars have differing views as to the the symbolism of this shrine, but the most probable is that of rebirth and fertility.[101] The strong erotic symbolism of the scenes probably indicates that such activity among the deceased was more than an omen of rebirth and that the scenes were necessary in order for rebirth to take place .[102] In these scenes the queen played the role of both wife and mother, i.e., of the goddess Hathor, who was the mother, spouse and daughter of Re. The deceased king, then, is the Kamutef, or "Bull of his Mother".[103] All this associates the use of the *ḫprš* with the Kamutef theology and the king's identification with Amun.

A specific situation where the king generally wears either the *ḫprš*, the cap crown, or no crown at all is in scenes depicting him before the sacred boat of a god. In these

100 Original not published. Translation from M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985), p. 7.

101 The shrine could represent the coronation of the king because of the prominence of the goddess Werat-hekau in the scenes, the presence of the full titulary of the king, and the inclusion of the epithet of Ankhsenamun,"great beloved wife of the king;" Bosse-Griffiths, "Little Golden Shrine," p. 103 and p. 107-8. Or perhaps the shrine was made to legitimize the joint rule of Tutankhamun with Anksenamun, daughter of Akhenaten; Eaton-Krauss and Graefe, *Small Golden Shrine*, p. 25-27 and p. 29-30.

102 W. Westendorf, "Bemerkungen zur 'Kammer der Wiedergeburt' im Tutanchamungrab," *ZÄS* 94 (1967), p. 140-41.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 142-43.

scenes he either offers food, libations or incense. The *ḫprš* is the most frequently worn when royal headdresses in major temples are compared in this type of scene (Table 19).

Table 19. Headdresses worn by the king when censing the sacred boats of gods.

	Karnak	Abydos	Medinet Habu
ḫprš	6	7	4
cap crown	4	0	1
wig	1	3	1

The sacred boat was believed to be a place of rebirth and renewal. For instance, Sokar is a god of death with potential life, and his boat represents a place of new life in the realm of the dead.[104] In fact, the boat of Sokar is even identified with the god, and the god's name is determined by his boat.[105]

The same symbolism is found again much later in the Ptolemaic period. In a Ptolemaic text from Edfu concening the myth of Horus, Horus fights Seth from a boat. Seth is a hippopotamus in the water, and the boat is called the warship of Horus in a text translated as

> The mother nurses Horus in the water.[106]

The use of the *ḫprš* crown implies that its wearer is the living heir of kingship from a line of deceased kings. The transmission of the ka of kingship (see p. 98 and Ch. 4, p. 82) is presented in reliefs of the Min Festival at Medinet Habu.[107] Behind Ramesses III, who offers incense to Min-Kamutef in his shrine, is a row of nine statues of kings (Fig. 60).

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[104]W.B. Kristensen, "De Symboliek van de Boot in de Egyptische Godsdienst," *Symbol en Werkelijkheid ; een godsdiensthistorische studien* (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1954), p. 182-83.

[105]*Wb.* III, p. 487.

[106]Kristensen, "Symboliek van de Boot," p. 186; see also Naville, *Mythe d'Horus*, pl. 7.

[107]Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 4, pl. 206.


Fig. 60.

The cartouches before each of the kings indicate that the first represents the living king, while the eight following depict his deceased predecessors. The living king wears the *ḫprš*, while the eight deceased kings all wear *nms* headdresses. That is, the one who wears the *ḫprš* represents the reigning king, while those wearing the *nms* signify past kings, i.e., the line of kingship. The significance of the *ḫprš* crown, then, is that it indicates the king as the new heir to the throne through Amun-Re.

In the mortuary temple of Seti I there is a series of chapels to various gods, including one to the deceased king. Each chapel has a false door on which the king is depicted twice. In the chapels of Horus, Amun-Re and Re-Horakhti, the king wears the *nms* (Table 20). In that of the deceased Seti I, the king is depicted with the *ḫprš*. Among these chapels to various deities, only in that of the deceased king does Seti I wear the *ḫprš*. There is an analogous situation in the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel. Here there are

Table 20. The *ḫprš* in the chapels of the Seti I temple at Abydos.

Chapel of Horus	*nms*
Chapel of Amun-Re	*nms*
Chapel of Re-Horakhti	*nms*
Chapel of Seti I	*ḫprš*
Chapel of Osiris	unfinished
Chapel of Isis	*ḫ3t*
Chapel of Ptah	unfinished

four seated statues in the sanctuary: the three creator gods Amun, Re and Ptah, and king Ramesses II wearing the *ḫprš*. Perhaps this means that the king wears the *ḫprš* not only as living heir to the line of kingship, but as heir of the gods as well. Perhaps these situations, in which the king, wearing the *ḫprš*, is placed symbolically on the same level as the gods, signify his legitimate right to the throne.

The reappearance of the cap crown on the head of the queen (see p. 108) after the traditional *ḫprš* crown came into such frequent use by the king indicates that it was now a

separate headdress with a significance of its own. That is, the original cap crown had been referred to as *ḫprš* developed from the shape of a cap into that of the traditional *ḫprš*. Now the cap crown had reappeared. The term *ḫprš*, however, now referred only to the crown and no longer to the cap.

In the Nineteenth Dynasty, King Seti I is seen frequently in his mortuary temple at Abydos wearing the cap crown, sometimes with circlets.[108] Although there are no instances where the king wears both crowns in the same scene (which would suggest a complementary symbolism) the king is depicted in several adjacent scenes alternately wearing a blue *ḫprš* and a gold cap crown. This suggests a relation between the two headdresses because the gold and blue colors are associated with Re and Amun respectively.[109]

In the Twentieth Dynasty, Ramesses III is represented wearing the cap crown as well as the *ḫprš*. Some of the scenes indicate a definite relationship in the significance of the two headdresses. In the temple of Ramesses III at Karnak there are shrines to each member of the Theban triad: Amun, Mut and Khonsu. In each shrine the king is shown in twin scenes on opposite walls censing the sacred boat of the deity: in the Amun shrine he wears the *ḫprš*, but in the shrine of Mut he has on a cap crown.[110] Here, it appears that the former headdress is associated with the male, and the latter with his spouse.

Other scenes depicting the Feast of Opet also imply a complementary relationship. Here, the ceremonial barge of Amun is towed by the boat of the king in the river procession. Ramesses III, wearing the *ḫprš*, holds an oar at the prow of his boat. [111] On

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[108]See Ca.Cr. #6 and #7.

[109]Amun was frequently represented with blue skin; Otto, "Amun," p. 239.

[110]Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, v. 1, pl. 57-58 and pl. 65-66.

[111]*Ibid.*, v. 2, pl. 88.

the barge of Amun, the king is depicted at the stern holding the rudder while a second image of him stands back to back with the first, censing the shrine of Amun. Both images of the king wear the cap crown.[112] On the barges of Mut and Khonsu, however, he is shown wearing the *ḫprš*.[113] Perhaps this indicates that while the king is the heir to the throne and ruler through Amun's presence in his body, he is also subordinate to Amun. Also, the king could have a complementary relationship to the god in that he is a physical manifestation of Amun. Again, the use of the *ḫprš* and the cap crown together implies a complementary relationship in which the cap crown is symbolically subordinate to the *ḫprš* crown. Another scene at Karnak, of Ramesses II, suggests this. In a procession of the sacred barks of the Theban triad, the king, wearing a *ḫprš*, stands before the bark of Amun, censing it. A second figure of the same king, wearing a cap crown and the leopard skin typical of a priest, walks alongside of the bark.[114]

Conclusion

The king's identification with the god Amun reached its highest point of development by the Eighteenth Dynasty. This idea had appeared as early as the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty. At that point the king began to be depicted wearing the Amun Crown, as well as the cap crown. By the time Egypt had been reunited at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the cap crown had developed into the traditional shape of the *ḫprš* crown.

By the reign of Amenhotep III, the cap crown reappeared as a headdress of queens. At this time, the queen had a particular cultic role in connection with the Kamutef theology.

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[112]*Ibid.*, pl. 90.

[113]*Ibid.*, pl. 92.

[114]Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscripitons*, v. 1, pl. 53.

Unlike the earlier cap crown, that worn by queens was no longer called *ḫprš*. In this period the Amun Crown without the tall feathers was also worn by the queen.

By the time the cap crown reappeared alongside the traditional *ḫprš* it was a separate headdress with its own particular significance. Although the specific meaning of the cap crown of this period is not clear, it did play a subsidiary role in association with the *ḫprš* crown.

Although different in form, the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš* are connected in their significance (Table 21). This symbolism goes beyond the fact that the use of both crowns signified the king's identification with Amun. The Amun Crown showed the king in the form of Amun and meant that he was associated with that god. The *ḫprš*, on the other hand emphasized the specific nature of the king's relationship with him: Amun was regenerated within each succeeding king and the king was the heir to the throne through Amun.

Table 21. The Amun Crown and the *ḫprš*.

Amun Crown	*ḫprš*
king in form of Amun	Amun reborn in each succeeding king
outer form of Amun	inner essence of Amun
king is Amun	king is new heir to throne through Amun

Both the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš* were worn in diminutive forms by queens from the Amarna period to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Was this to emphasize the importance of the queen's role in Kamutef theology? Why, then, was the king occasionally depicted wearing these diminutive forms?

Generally it can be said that patterns appear in the use of the Amun Crown and its diminutive form, the Amun Crown base. These same patterns exist with regard to the *ḫprš* (Table 22) and its diminutive form, the cap crown (Table 23).

Table 22. Pattern of use of the Amun Crown by kings and queens.[115]

Dynasty	Crowns of Kings		Crowns of Queens	
	Amun Crown	Amun Crown base	Amun Crown	Amun Crown base
Eleventh Dyn.	2			
Seventeenth Dyn.				
Eighteenth Dyn.	3	3	3	7
Nineteenth Dyn.	2			
Twenty-fifth Dyn.	3	4		
Thirtieth Dyn.		1		

Table 23. Pattern of use of the *ḫprš* and cap crown by kings and queens.

Dynasty	Crowns of Kings		Crowns of Queens	
	ḫprš	cap crown	*ḫprš*	cap crown
Eighteenth	9	1	1	3
Nineteenth	2	3		
Twentieth	4	1		
Twenty-fifth		7		
Thirtieth	1			

There are similarities between the use of the Amun Crown base and the cap crown in the late Eighteenth Dynasty: both headdresses were worn much more frequently by queens than by kings; both headdresses were worn by queens only during this period. Of these queens, only Nefertiti wore the actual Amun Crown and *ḫprš*. Since both the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš* are associated with Amun, perhaps the queen's cultic role in the Kamutef theology is reflected in the use of the diminutive forms of these headdresses by the queen. The significance of all four of these headdresses is unclear during the Amarna period, however. Nefertiti's role, nevertheless, appeared to be more equal to that of the king than any other queen, since Nefertiti wore kingly headdresses as well.

[115]Prototypes of these headdresses are not included. Royal headdresses on sphinxes of both kings and queens have been added. Cap crowns do not include any before the Eighteenth Dynasty and the appearance of the *ḫprš* crown because it has not been possible to determine the significance of the earlier ones.

Chapter Six

The *sḫmty* of the Ptolemaic Period

So far, the significance of the major types of crowns worn by the king has been studied by forming a chart of development and comparing it to the features of kingship as they appeared. At the advent of the Ptolemaic period there was a sudden increase of crown variants. This was of far greater proportions than that which occurred in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. These headdresses were characterized by greater complexity and the addition of unusual elements, such as uraei with lion heads. Only one headdress could be investigated because there are so many variants of these headdresses in the Ptolemaic period. The reason for this study was twofold: first, to see if the hypothesis of our study of Egyptian crowns would hold true during the Ptolemaic period; second, to learn how the significance of one crown type might change in that time.

Description of the *sḫmty*

The form of the *sḫmty* remained basically the same in the Ptolemaic period, but there are some differences in the elements added to the crown. Some of these elements were altered in form while others, in particular the *šwty*, were added to the headdress in a different manner. When added to crowns of the dynastic period, *šwty* always occurred in a symmetrical pair. For example, the *šwty* was added as a second headdress to the *sšd* (Fig. 61a).[1] When added to the *ḫprš* In the Nineteenth Dynasty, however, the pair of *šwty* feathers was separated, one on each side of the *ḫprš*, framing the crown (Fig. 61b).[2] The *šwty* were not added to the *sḫmty* until the Ptolemaic period and the manner of their

1 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 37.

2 *Ibid.*, pl. 44.

placement was more varied. There were three forms: 1) the *šwty*[3] framed the crown (Fig.

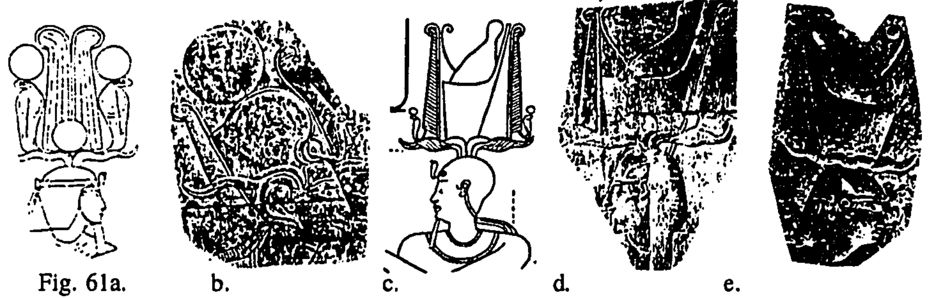


Fig. 61a. b. c. d. e.

61c), like the *ḫprš* of the Nineteenth Dynasty; 2) one of the feathers was placed at the back of the *dšrt* (Fig. 61d) at an angle while the other feather was straight;[4] 3) one feather was placed behind the *dšrt*, while the other was attached to the *ḥḏt* (Fig. 61e) or straight .[5] Tall feathers could be added in addition to the *šwty*.[6] Sometimess only one of these feathers was depicted, and it was attached to the pointed projection of the *dšrt* portion of the crown.[7] Also, both *šwty* were sometimes attached to the *ḥḏt*, so this variant can be viewed as a combination of the *dšrt* and the Osiris Crown.[8]

Some elements added to headdresses in the dynastic period were reformed into peculiar combinations in the Ptolemaic era. Notable examples of these consist of a falcon with a uraeus tail (Fig. 62a)[9] and a lion-headed uraeus (Fig. 62b).[10] Sometimes the lion-

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[3] S. Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna*, 8 vols. (Le Caire: Institut francais d'archéologie orientale, 1963), v. 2, p. 57.

[4] E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, 15 vols. (Le Caire: Institut francais d'archéologie orientale, 1934-37)v. 11, pl. 264.

[5] See Pt. *sḫmty* #41.

[6] See Pt. *sḫmty* #30.

[7] See Pt. *sḫmty* #11 and #13.

[8] See Pt. *sḫmty* #17 and #26.

[9] E. Chassinat and A. Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara*, 8 vols. (Le Caire: Institut francais d'archéologie orientale, 1935-37) v. 2, pl. 88. See also Pt. #28.

[10] Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 13, pl. 448. See also Pt. #15, #27 and #32-33.

headed uraeus has an elaborate headdress consisting of the Amun Crown base with cow horns and sun disks,[11] like uraei on some crowns of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

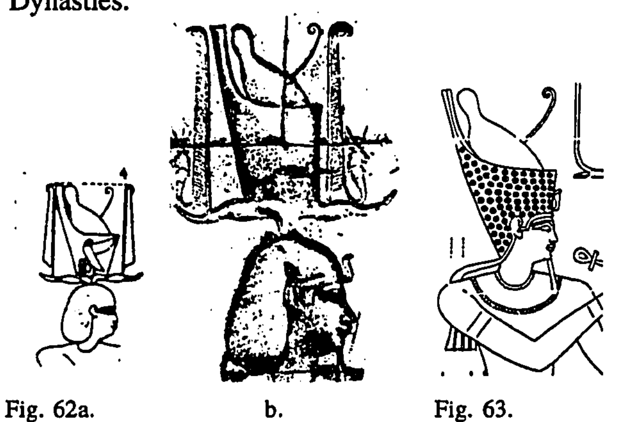


Fig. 62a. b. Fig. 63.

In the dynastic period the *ḫprš* and cap crown were the only types of royal headdresses depicted with circlets,[12] but in the Ptolemaic period the *sḫmty* appeared with these (Fig. 63) as well.[13]

Terminology of the *sḫmty*

There are no new terms for the *sḫmty* found in the Ptolemaic period, but *sḫmty* with the article *p3* is attested for this period, as in a text indicating the king crowned by Nekhbet and Uto:

dmḏ n.k p3 sḫmty[14]

The *sḫmty* has been united for you.

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[11] See Pt. *sḫmty* #29.

[12] See *ḫprš* #11 and Ca.Cr. #7.

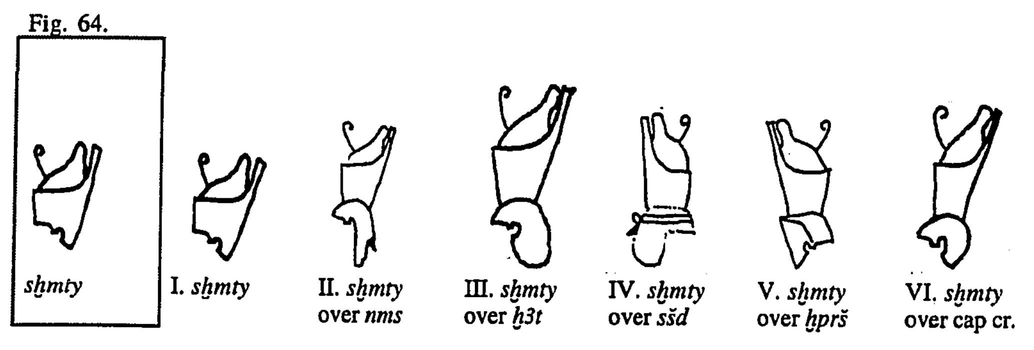
[13] Sauneron, *Esna*, v. 2, pl 113. See also Pt. *sḫmty* #45, which has a falcon added at the back. This calls to mind similar crowns with falcons added at the back from the dynastic period, such as the famous statue of Khafre of the Fifth Dynasty in the Cairo Museum with the falcon at the back of the king's *nms* headdress; see also *3tf* #5 and #6 from the Eighteenth Dynasty; and *ḫprš* #8 from the Thirtieth Dynasty.

[14] *Wb. Belegstellen* IV, p. 62.

Development of the *sḫmty*

The *sḫmty* of the Ptolemaic period was often worn as an added element over other headdresses. Variants of this crown are divided into types (Fig. 64) according to which headdress they were worn over.

Fig. 64.



Unlike charts of development of crowns of the dynastic period, these headdresses are not organized according to the reign of each king. Instead, they are arranged from simple to complex for the entire Ptolemaic period.

In the dynastic period, there were twice as many variants consisting of the *sḫmty* over the *nms* than there are of the *sḫmty* over the *ḫ3t*. In the Ptolemaic era this proportion is reversed (Table 24).

Table 24. *sḫmty* variants of the dynastic and Ptolemaic periods.

	Dynastic	Ptolemaic
sḫmty over *nms*	4	6
sḫmty over *ḫ3t*	2	10

Significance of the *sḫmty*

During the dynastic period, the *sḫmty* signified the king as ruler over the totality of Egypt as the sum of Upper and Lower Egypt. This crown was worn by the king from the First Dynasty onward and by the god Horus beginning with the Third Dynasty. It was associated with Horus and was a manifestation of the king's identifcation with this god (see Ch. 2, p. 27). By the Ptolemaic period, almost three thousand years later, the nature of

kingship had expanded by an increase in complexity and the number of gods with whom the king was identified. One of the most important aspects of kingship that had occurred by the Eighteenth Dynasty was the king's identification with Amun through the Kamutef theology (see Ch. 5, p. 96-98). It stands to reason, then, that these changes would be reflected in the royal crowns.

From about the Twenty-first Dynasty onward, there was a focus on the king's identification with Harpocrates, alongside that of Horus and Amun. The king's ties with both Horus and Amun is recalled in the descent of Harpocrates from Isis and Amun. By the time of the Ptolemaic period, the aspect of Horus known as Harpocrates, or Horus the Child, increased in importance as a feature of kingship. It is generally thought that the most ancient cult of Harpocrates was at Thebes, where Harpocrates replaced Horsiasis (Horus son of Isis) in a triad with Isis and the ithyphallic form of Amun.[15] Harpocrates, a son of Isis and the god Amun, was known as early as the Pyramid Texts where the child Horus is referred to as one "of whom the finger is in the mouth."[16] He is represented as a child with the sidelock of youth and a finger at the mouth. Two graffiti from Wadi Hammamat refer to Harpocrates as "eldest son of Amun" in this triad. Moreover, a small figure from Abydos shows Harpocrates in his characteristic shape, but wearing the crown of Amun with its tall feathers and a sun disk.[17] The inscription names him Hor-Amun. Also, the personal name Harpokramon is found in the same period.[18]

In the Greco-Roman period Harpocrates embodies the sun of the two first hours of the day. Hence he is associated with the newborn sun. Also, he has connections with Min

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15 D. Meeks, "Harpokrates," *LÄ* II, p. 1005.

16 *Pyr.* 663c and 664a.

17 Petrie, *Abydos*, v. 1, pl. 70.

18 Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 274.

and is associated with fertility.[19] Harpocrates of the Ptolemaic period, then, has characteristics of both Horus and Amun.

In the theology of the Mammisi,[20] there is an identification of the royal family and the divine triad. Monuments erected by Cleopatra VII at Coptos and Armant on the occasion of the birth of Cesarion show the queen and her son identified with Isis and Harpocrates, while the father took the form of Min and Montu.[21] This associates Harpocrates with Amun and reflects the Kamutef theology of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The identification of the king with Harpocrates is seen in the use of the *sḫmty* during the Ptolemaic period. The attributes of Horus and of Amun by which Harpocrates is characteristized is present in the form taken by variants of the *sḫmty* of the Ptolemaic period. That is, the features of these headdresses are more characteristic of the *ḫprš* than they are of the *sḫmty* of the dynastic period. The large number of variants which have ram horns and *šwty* as added elements is reminiscent of the *ḫprš* of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Two variants[22] have circlets on the *dšrt* portion of the *sḫmty*. These have been seen previously only on the *ḫprš*. Such a large portion of variants which have the *sḫmty* as an added element shows that the king's divine connection is not just with Horus, but with Horus the Child as well.

When the king's association with Amun reached its highest point in the Eighteenth Dynasty, each king became a new form of this god through the Kamutef theology. The *ḫprš* signifies that the wearer is the true heir to the throne through Amun. At that point,

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19 Meeks, "Harpocrates," p. 1004.

20 This name comes from the sanctuary of this small temple, which contains scenes representing the birth of the young god of the triad to whom the temple is consecrated. This temple is a cult annex to the larger temple. It is called *pr-mst*, or "birth house;" F. Daumas, "Geburtshaus," *LÄ* II, p. 462-463.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 1005.

22 See Pt. *sḫmty* #45 and #46.

then, the king ruled a united Two Lands as the living Horus, but he was also the outer form of Amun and the heir to the throne through that god. By the Ptolemaic period, attributes of these two gods coalesced when the king's identification with Horus the Child, Harpocrates, prevailed. Harpocrates was not only the son of Isis and Osiris, but he had qualities which associated him with the sun god and with Min and Amun.[23]

In the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, the king most often wore the *ḫprš* when worshipping the sacred boat of a god (see Ch. 5, p. 116). During the Ptolemaic period, however, he wore the *sḫmty*. There are four such scenes at Edfu[24] and one at Dendara.[25]

There is another indication that the function of the *ḫprš* was absorbed by the *sḫmty* as the king's identication with Harpocrates became strong: the many examples of the king as an infant wearing the *ḫprš* (see Ch.5, p. 113-114) are reminiscent of Horus the Child.

Conclusion

The *shmty* of the Ptolemaic period differed from that of dynastic times in several respects: the variants of the crown increased in both number and complexity; some added elements changed form or were used differently. Also, another aspect of the king's identification with Horus, that of Harpocrates, the child Horus, was added.

By the Eighteenth Dynasty, the king was viewed as the outward manifestation of the god Amun through the Kamutef theology. Moreover, it has been shown that the king wore the *ḫprš* crown as the new heir to the throne through Amun. By the Ptolemaic period the king, the living incarnation of Horus, was identified with Harpocrates, as well.

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23 Meeks, "Harpokrates," p. 1004.

24 Chassinat, *Mammisi*, v. 1, pl. 13 and pl. 15; Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 3, pl. 47 and v. 13, pl. 536.

25 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 1, pl. 51.

Harpocrates as the child of Isis and Amun recalls the king's identification with both Horus and Amun.

This development in the nature of kingship was reflected in a change in the significance of the *sḫmty*. In the dynastic period, the *sḫmty* was associated with Horus, and the *ḫprš* reflected the king as heir through Amun. In the Ptolemaic period, the *sḫmty* became the typical crown of Harpocrates, the child Horus whose father was Amun. The use of the *sḫmty*, associated with Horus during the dynastic period, came to be, during the Ptolemaic era, similar to that of the *ḫprš* in the dynastic period. This was reflected in the appearance of the Ptolemaic *sḫmty* as well, in that it was sometimes depicted with circlets like the *ḫprs*.

Like the *sḫmty*, the *ḫprš* continued to be worn by the king during the Ptolemaic period in a large number of complex variants. Since the *sḫmty* took over the significance of the *ḫprš* during this time, it would be interesting to investigate the meaning and purpose of the *ḫprš* in the Ptolemaic era.

Chapter Seven

General Conclusions

The purpose of this dissertation has been to investigate the relationship between the evolution of royal headdresses and changes in the nature of kingship, the association between specific headdresses and particular aspects of kingship, and the connection between crowns and gods associated with kingship. It is based on the hypothesis that the evolution of royal headdresses reflects the development of kingship because the symbols needed change through time. It has been shown to be true that the introduction of crown types, such as the *sḫmty*, the *3tf*, the *šwty*, the *sšd*, the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš*, have coincided with the appearance of various features of kingship, spefically the king's identification with Horus, the Horus-Osiris cycle, the ka of kingship and the Kamutef theology. Gods associated with the king (Horus, Osiris, Re and Amun) are tied to these features and to the various types of crowns. The queen's role, moreover, changed through history, and this is reflected in the way kingly crowns were worn by the queen (Table 25).

When the introduction of crown types is compared chronologically to the appearance of features of kingship (Tables 25 and 26) there are distinct parallels between the two.

Table 25. Kingship, Crowns and Gods.

Kingship	Dynasty	Crowns	Significance	God
king=Horus	I (Narmer)	*ḥdt*	ruler of U. Egypt	Horus
		dšrt	ruler of L. Egypt	
	(Den)	*sḫmty*	ruler over all Egypt	Horus
king=son of Re	IV(Khafre)	*nms*	son of Re,living king	Re
deceased king identified with Osiris and Re	V (Sahure)	*šwty*		Horus
		3tf	king in Netherworld	Osiris
		sšd	potential of renewal	Osiris and Re
	(Niuserre)	*h3t*	king's ka	
king associated with Amun	XI (Neb. Ment.)	Amun Crown	form of Amun	Amun
	XVIII(Tuthmosis I)	*ḫprš*	new king heir to throne through Amun	Amun
Kamutef theol.	(Hatshepsut)			
ka of kingship	(Amenhotep III)	Am. Cr. base[1]	worn by queen	Amun
king=Aten	(Akhenaten)	cap crown[2]	worn by queen	

Table 26. Appearance of crown types.

1-3	4	5	11	18	19	20-30
sḫmty						
	šwty *nms*					
		3tf *sšd*				
			Am.Cr.			
				ḫprš		
				h3t		

Table 27. The development of kingship.

1-3	4	5	11	18	19	20-30
king=Horus						
		Horus-Osiris cycle king=son of Re				
			king form of Amun			
				Kamutef theology		
				king becomes ka		
				king=Aten		

1 Included here although its significance is unclear, other than that it is associated with Amun and is a secondary form of the Amun Crown.

2 This does not refer to the cap crown that developed into the *ḫprš*, but only to that which reappeared after the fully developed form of the *ḫprš*. Although the meaning of this later cap crown is unclear, it definitely has a significance different from the *ḫprš*.

Some of the elements added to crowns show a pattern of increased use when the variants of crown types are compared. These patterns, moreover, coincide with the appearance of theologies associated with kingship in the same manner that crown types appeared. That is, the addition of sun disks and Amun ram horns to crowns occurred simultaneously with the incrased importance of the sun theology, the emergence of Amun as a major national god and the development of the Kamutef theology. Hence, there was a vast increase in sun disks (Table 28) on the *nms* in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and again with the coming of the Amarna period. The same pattern is seen on the headdresses of royal sphinxes (Table 29).

Table 28. Sun disks as added elements on crown types in the dynastic period.

	sḫmty	*3tf*	*šwty*	*sšd*	*nms*	*ḫ3t*	*Am. Cr.*	*ḫprš*
1-17th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18th-pre Tuth.III	0	1	0	0	10	0	2	0
-pre Amen.III	0	6	0	2	8	0	0	0
-pre Amarna	0	2	5	0	4	0	1	0
-Amarna	0	0	0	17	13	16	2	0
19th	1	0	6	47	43	4	10	1
20th	0	4	0	7	47	1	0	5
21-30th	0	0	0	7	0	0	11	0

Table 29. Pattern of sun disks on headdresses of royal sphinxes.

	sḫmty	*3tf*	*šwty*	*sšd*	*nms*	*ḫ3t*	*Am. Cr.*	*ḫprš*
1-17th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18th-pre Tuth.III	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
-pre Amen.III	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
-pre Amarna	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0
-Amarna	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
19th	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
20th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-30th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Amun ram horns (Table 30) are added only to the *nms*, the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš*.[3] Amun ram horns were never added to the *sḫmty*, the *ḫ3t*, the *3tf* or the *šwty*.[4] Such a

3 This includes examples which have an *3tf* or *šwty* as an added element.

pattern reflects the syncretism of Amun and Re and the identification of the king with these gods.

Table 30. Amun ram horns on crown types in the dynastic period.

	sḫmty	*3tf*	*šwty*	*sšd*	*nms*	*ḫ3t*	*Am. Cr.*	*ḫprš*
1-17th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18th-pre Tuth.III	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
-pre Amen.III	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
-pre Amarna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
-Amarna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19th	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	1
20th	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-30th	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

The added elements on the elaborate headdresses of the Eighteenth Dynasty reflect the character of kingship in that period, just as the simple forms of crowns introduced between the First and the Fifth Dynasties did. That is, the introduction of the *šwty* and the *sḫmty* symbolizes the king's ties to Horus, and that of the *3tf* his ties to Osiris. The appearance of the *nms* shows the king's identification with Re. All this occurred by the Fifth Dynasty. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, new headdresses and elaborate variants of the old ones suddenly appeared. The Amun Crown, the *ḫprš* and the *ḫ3t* symbolized the introduction of new concepts: the king's identification with Amun, the Kamutef theology and the cult of the king's ka. Yet, the appearance of composite crowns (Table 31) which include headdresses associated with the earliest features of kingship as added elements indicates that the king's identification with Horus and Osiris continued as a portion of the totality of it. The composite crowns consisting of the *sšd* with the *šwty* and the *sšd* with the *3tf*[5] appeared simultaneously with the Horus-Osiris cycle in the Fifth Dynasty. The *nms* became a composite crown in the Eighteenth Dynasty when Re and the

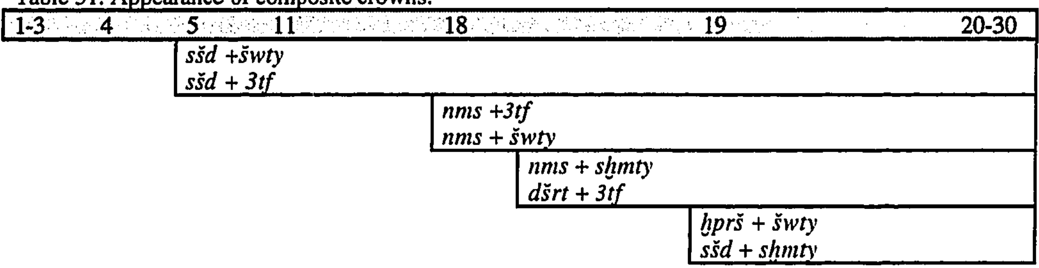
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4 This does not include headdresses which have these crowns as added elements.

5 See *sšd* #8 and #15.

sun theology dominated kingship: the *sḫmty*, the *šwty* or the *3tf*[6] were added to it, calling to mind the king's incarnation as Horus and the Horus-Osiris cycle. In the Nineteenth Dynasty the *ḫprš*, associated with Amun and the Kamutef theology, added ram horns and *šwty*,[7] which were connected with the Horus-Osiris cycle.

Table 31. Appearance of composite crowns.



1-3	4	5	11	18	19	20-30
		sšd +šwty *sšd + 3tf*				
				nms +3tf *nms + šwty*		
				nms + sḫmty *dšrt + 3tf*		
					ḫprš + šwty *sšd + sḫmty*	

Not only was there an increase of complex crowns over time, but the use of composite crowns, or crown types which included other headdresses as added elements, shows that there was a deepening in the complexity of symbolism as well. These factors are a reflection of the increasingly complex theology associated with kingship. Headdresses depicted in association with one another also appeared in composite forms.

Like the gods with whom the king came to be identified with over time, existing aspects of kingship were retained along with new ones when these emerged. This means that the true heir to the throne through Amun remained the living Horus who became Osiris at death. All these aspects can be tied together. As ruler of the land in his living and deceased forms, the king wore the *sḫmty* and the *3tf* respectively. These concerned his powers of kingship. The *nms* and the *ḫ3t*, on the other hand, reflect his nature. That is, the deceased form of the king, his ka, was eternal and connected with the ka of kingship, while his living form changed with each individual king. The capability of his powers of

6 See *nms* #24, #43 and #48.

7 See *ḫprš* #9.

kingship to be regenerated in each succeeding king was reflected in the *ḫprš* crown, while the Amun Crown depicted him in the form of that god.

Overall, it can be said that kingship developed after the manner of accretion layers - one built on top of another. Not only can these accretion layers be seen in the development of royal headdresses (see also Ch. 2, p. 32), but they occur in other aspects of religion. For instance, the characteristics of deities shows several levels of symbolism. The Pyramid Texts show that Osiris was associated with fertitlity in connection with fresh water:[8]

ii Ḥrw ip.f it.f im.k rnp.ti m rn.k n(y) mw rnp.w[9]

May Horus come; may he recognize his father in you, for you are young in your name of fresh water.

On another level Osiris was a god of fertility in plant life and renewal of human life in the Netherworld, as is attested in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead.[10]

On one level, Hathor was goddess of joy, dancing and music and love.[11] Yet on another level she was clearly associated with renewal of life in the Netherworld. In the Hathor shrine of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Hathor played such a role (see Ch. 3, p. 45). This shrine was called the Festival of the Second Birth.

The fact that the complex headdresses of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties show a tying together of features of kingship asssociated with Osiris and with Re is made especially clear in the use of "the *3tf* crown of Re." (see Ch. 3, p. 47-49). The progression

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8 D. Arnold, "Osiris," *LÄ* IV, p. 628.

9 Pyr. 589a.

10 Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, p. 151-172.

11 Daumas, "Hathor," p. 1024.

of scenes in the coronation of Hatshepsut [12] shows that she was crowned not only with an *3tf* and with a *nms*, but with a "crown of Re," which encompassed both of these headdresses. This kind of syncretism between Osiris and Re reflects another characteristic which permeates ancient Egyptian culture: dualism, or complementarism (see Ch. 2, p. 32 and Ch. 4, p. 87-88). It means that the Egyptian concept of totality comes out of the union between two complementary opposites. This complementarism[13] underlies the Egyptian concept of eternity, as well as aspects of kingship, such as the royal titulary and the taking over of power by a new king. Even the architecture of the royal tomb reflects this idea.[14]

The same outlook is projected in mortuary temples as well. The temples of Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV at Amada, as well as that of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, are all dedicated to both Amun-Re and Re-Horakhti. The forms in which the king is represented show that he was assimilated to these gods. They perhaps represent the south and the north respectively.[15] This is depicted specifically in the temple of Ramesses II at Wadi-Es-Sebu.[16]

The complementary opposites which combine to form a totality in the outlook of the ancient Egyptians are, in a sense, like two sides of the same coin: both are needed and one is not effective without the other. Assmann related this concept to the Egyptian view of eternity (see ch. 4, p. 89-90). The way *nḥḥ* and *ḏt* appear in relation to one another in texts shows this to be true:

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12 See Lacau-Chevrier, *Hatshepsout*, p. 236-250.

13 Derchain-Urtel, "Thronbesteigung," *LÄ* VI, p. 529-30.

14 *LÄ* I, p. 149.

15 Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, p. 6-7.

16 In the altar room, the door lintel shows the king in a double scene: he appears before Re-Horakhti on the north and Amun-Re on the south. Here the king, before the same gods and in the same positions respectively, is depicted in each scene while smiting captives. On another door lintel leading to the inner court, the king offers on one side to Horus, Amun and Mut, and on the other side to Buto and Re-Horakhti. Two more similar scenes appear in the same temple; Habachi, *Deification*, p. 12.

ir bnw Wsir pw nty m Iwnw ir sip n nty wnn.t ḫ3t.f pw ky.sw nḥḥ pw ḥn' ḏt ir nḥḥ hrw pw ir ḏt grḥ[17]

As for the phoenix, it is Osiris who is in Heliopolis. As for the assigning of that which is, it is in a state of having come into being. Or else it is (*nḥḥ*) eternity and (*ḏt*) eternity. As for (*nḥḥ*) eternity, it is day. As for (*ḏt*) eternity, it is night.

Complementarism, then, is such a dominating aspect of ancient Egyptian thought, especially in regard to kingship, that it is no wonder that this concept is clearly expressed in the use of royal crowns. Using Assmann's paradigm of complementary opposites in the Egyptian view of eternity as a takeoff point, then, one sees easily the same parallels in crowns and kingship (Table 32).

Table 32. Complementary opposites.[18]

Eternity	*nḥḥ*	*ḏt*
Nature	sun	earth
Deities	Re	Osiris
Kingship	living king king as Horus	ka of king king as Osiris
Crowns	*ḥḏt* *sḫmty* *šwty* *sšd + šwty* *nms* Amun Crown	*dšrt* *3tf* *3tf* *sšd + 3tf* *ḫ3t* *ḫprš*

All of the items in the *ḏt* are associated in one way or another with the earth and with the aspect of life that is eternal and unchanging. The king's ka is the spiritual part of him that lives eternally. It is the same with royal headdresses. The *ḫ3t* is associated with Osiris and with the king's ka, which is eternal. The *3tf* is connected to Osiris and the renewal of life of the deceased king in the Netherworld and the realm of the eternal.

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[17] Naville, *Totenbuch*, Ch. 17, l. 13-14.

[18] For opposites to be complementary they must have the character of needing each other to function. This works in Egyptian religion because both Re, a sun god, and Osiris, an earth god, were necessary components in the process of renewal of life in the Netherworld, just as both the sun and the earth were construed as necessary components for the crops to grow; see Chapter 3, p. 51.

The items in the *nḥḥ* column, on the other hand, are connected with the sun and, like the sun, have a cyclic character. The use of the *sḫmty* by the ruler was associated with kingship in this world and that of the *nms* with the living king (as opposed to his ka).

This concept can be applied to the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš* as well. Unlike the *sḫmty* and *3tf*, or the *nms* and *ḫ3t*, these headdresses were not juxtaposed in reliefs or texts. Yet, they do reflect a complementarism in what they represent: the Amun Crown represents the king in the physical, outer form of Amun, while the *ḫprš* is associated with the spiritual presence of Amun within the king and the rebirth of this god in the outer form of each succeeding king. These crowns are also unique and tied together because each has a subsidiary type (the Amun Crown base and the cap crown) that was worn by the queen during a period in which her cultic role was significant.

A more encompassing feature of the complementarism that Assmann saw in ancient Egyptian thought was that of the two basic aspects of kingship: the king as Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, and the king as Horus the son of Hathor. The king as both Horuses represents a coming together of two opposing constellations. Horus the son of Isis represents the linear descent of the king from Re through the Ennead. Horus son of Hathor is connected with cyclic regeneration and the Kamutef theology.[19] It can be said, then, that two features that are unique to ancient Egyptian culture, accretion layers of symbolism and complementarism, are manifested in the development of both crowns and kingship. But did any of this influence other cultures? It is possible in regard to the connection between crowns of kingship and theology, specifically the *ḫprš* and the Kamutef theology.

It is the development of the *ḫprš* that was affected in two periods of foreign rule in Egypt. The *ḫprš* crown appeared in its earliest forms during the rule of the Hyksos kings.

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[19] J. Assmann, "Das Bild des Vaters im Alten Ägypten," in *Das Vaterbild in Mythos und Geschichte*, H. Tellenbach, ed. (Berlin: Kohlhammer, 1976), p. 46-47.

These were the kings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties (1640-1532 B.C.).[20] The examples of cap crowns which were called *ḫprš* come from this era.

The second period was when Ethiopian kings ruled in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, when the Kushite cap was introduced. The connection of this headdress with the *ḫprš* has been pointed out (see Ch. 5, p. 106): it appears that the Kushite cap took the place of the *ḫprš* during this period of rule.[21] This association with the *ḫprš* implies, then, that these foreign rulers were identified with the god Amun in a different way then were Egyptian kings.

The use of such a large number of crown variants in Egypt make a statement about the various aspects of kingship. For instance, the large number of *sšd* variants which have an *3tf* or a *šwty* call to mind the Horus-Osiris cycle. The composite crowns seen especially from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, show that earlier concepts were kept alongside newer ones: the king's incarnation as Horus continued to be important when the king's association with Re was emphasized in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Amun Crown and the *ḫprš* were worn in connection with the king's identification with Amun. What was different by that period was that the earlier headdresses, such as the *sḫmty* and *šwty*, associated with Horus, were also worn with the *nms* and the *ḫprš* in the form of composite crowns.

A constant theme that is clearly seen in the use of crowns in Egypt is that of regeneration and renewal of life. This theme occurs earliest by the Fifth Dynasty when the king was first depicted wearing the *3tf*, indicating the renewal of life in kingship in the Netherworld. In the same dynasty, the *sšd* began to be worn with the *3tf* and with the *šwty*. This reflected renewal of kingship through the Horus-Osiris cycle. The *3tf* Crown

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20 J. Baines and J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Fackts On File, 1980), p. 36.

21 Russmann, *Representation of the King*, p. 28-29.

of Re in the Eighteenth Dynasty showed the syncretism between Osiris and Re that appeared in texts by that period. The regeneration of the god Amun in the form of succeding kings through the Kamutef is seen in the use of the Amun Crown and the *ḫprš*.

This theme of regeneration and renewal of life projected in the use of ancient Egyptian crowns is unique to that culture. In Mesopotamia, for instance, the only similarity is that crowns could be viewed as divine. In Egypt, the *ḥdt* and *dšrt*, components of the *sḫmty*, were viewed as goddesses. A Sumerian text has a similar view, referring to "Lady of the Crown" and "Lady of the Scepter."[22] In Egypt there was a unity between the king and the divine power of the *sḫmty* (see Ch. 2, p. 25). Perhaps there was a closer bond between the king and the divine crowns in Egypt because of the Egyptian king's divine status. In Mesopotamia the king served the gods. In Egypt order (maat) was manifested through the king, while the Mesopotamian ruler served the gods, who were the absolute masters.[23]

In the traditional religion of modern Ghana elements on royal headdresses express, as in Egypt, the ruler's divinity. The king was believed to be the incarnation of the sun god, Nyankopon. As giver of the sun's fertility, this god was symbolized by the bongo antelope. The ruler's connection with the sun god was expressed in his headdress worn during funeral rites. It consisted of a chaplet of silk, of which the two ends stood upright. These represented the horns of the bongo.[24]

Another headdress worn by the king in Ghana reflects his ties with the sun god as well as his divine heritage. It consists of a chaplet of silk to which golden triangles are fastened forming crosses. The crosses symbolize his solar power, the triangles express

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22 H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 245.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 231 and p. 309.

24 E.L.R. Meyerowitz, *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 85-86.

that he rules for the mother goddess incarnate in the queen mother.[25] The crosses recall sun disks on Egyptian crowns. The king's connection with the sun, with ancestral rulers and his divine descent are symbolized in these headdresses.

Crowns can be said to make a statement about kingship and its religious connections in relatively more modern times as well. An elaborate headdress (Fig. 65) worn by St. Stephen of Hungary, whose rule began in 1072 A.D., calls to mind the composite crowns of ancient Egypt. It was decorated with images of the archangels Michael and Gabriel and of the saints Demetrius and George. A medallion represented Christ. This crown was unique because it consisted of two crowns joined together, reminding one of the composite crowns of ancient Egypt. The upper part was the Byzantine headdress, while the lower part was a crown that had been bestowed on this ruler by the pope.[26]

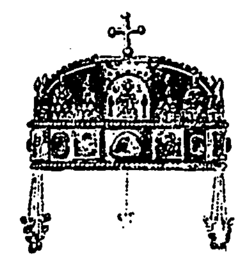


Fig. 65.

Egyptian crowns from the First through the Thirtieth Dynasties became increasingly complex, but this did not occur gradually. Instead, sudden increases in the complexity of crown variants occurred at times when changes occurred in the style of art in ancient Egypt. This is true especially in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Dynasties. When one considers the practical problems of creating such headdresses, one doubts that they actually existed; for the number of actual crowns that have survived are fewer than ten, while the number of variants depicted is more than two hundred. Most of the complex ones probably never existed in reality. Perhaps only the simplest ones seen before the Eighteenth Dynasty were actually made: when crowns on statues are compared to those shown in relief, only the simplest forms appear in statuary. Also, on some New Kingdom headdresses which depict

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25 *Ibid.*, pl. 11.

26 Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, p. 24-25.

a sun disk above the crown, it is difficult to know if the sun disk is meant to be part of the headdress, or if it is a sun disk that is merely placed above the king and is simply part of the decoration of the relief. When crowns are depicted on temple walls, there is a distinct difference in complexity between those in the inner sanctuaries and those in the hypostyle halls where the public was allowed. This arrangement is clear in the mortuary temple of King Seti I at Abydos. While complex headdresses are shown in the hypostyle halls and other chambers, such as the Osiris Complex, the chapels to individual gods depict the king with the simplest variants of the *nms*, the *ḫ3t*, the cap crown and the *ḫprš*. Perhaps this means that it was necessary only to depict the real headdress in the inner chambers. In the outer chambers, where the public viewed the scenes, graphic symbols were necessary to communicate the king's divinity. All of this shows how closely art, language and religion were interwoven in ancient Egypt.

Although close to 300 variants of crowns are represented in statues, reliefs and paintings, the actual remains of crowns that have come down to us are surprisingly few. No *ḥḏt*, *dšrt* or *sḫmty* have survived. No *3tf* or *šwty* have come down to us. While it is true that the material from which these were probably made was fragile, at least a few of the tremendous number of variants should remain. The structure of patterns of added elements, however, shows that they could have been removable and added to other crowns. For instance, ram horns and *šwty* could have been removed from an *3tf* and attached to a *ḫprš*. For instance, a relief (Fig. 66) shows the king kneeling before Amun.[27] The king wears a *nms*, while Amun places an *3tf* with ram horns on his head.

Fig. 66.

[27] Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 6, pl. 460.

Even if this were the case, however, a larger variety of royal headdresses should have survived. Although made of perishable material, the most likely explanation is that the more complex variants existed only in representation and did not exist in reality. There is ample evidence to favor this point of view.

When one surveys statues and reliefs representing the king and compares these, it is clear that none of the complex versions are represented in statuary. The *nms* and *ḫ3t* rarely appear with any added elements except the uraeus. None of the exceedingly complex crowns, such as those with six uraei wearing their own headdresses are depicted. Perhaps the statues represent reality, and maybe the complex crowns were difficult to create in the round.

A clearer indication of this intermingling of reality and symbolism can be seen in how crowns are represented. For instance, the *sḫmty* is most often depicted with the *ḥḏt* portion surrounded and supported by the *dšrt* part, as it is always seen in statuary and would most likely be in reality. In painting and relief, however, the *ḥḏt* is entirely visible, while only the edges of the *dšrt* are seen behind the *ḥḏt*. The intention of this is seen occasionally in scenes depicting the king wearing the *sḫmty* in two opposing scenes. In one, the *ḥḏt* is overlayed on the *dšrt*, while in the other the *dšrt* surrounds the *ḥḏt*.

An example of the intermingling of art, language, symbolism and reality can be seen in two examples of cryptographic crowns (see Ch. 4, p. 68-69), in which elements are added to the crown to create a rebus spelling the name of the king.

The majority of crown variants that have formed the basis of this study are those seen in reliefs only on published monuments. Even so, the overall picture presented in the chart of development still reflects accurate proportions.

Further study of headdresses could focus on those worn by the queen to see if these would reflect her identification with goddesses, such as Hathor in the Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as her role in connection with kingship of that period.

The *sḫmty*

Type I. *ḥḏt*	Type II. *dšrt*	Type III. *sḫmty*	Type IV. *sḫmty* as added element
First Dynasty: (Narmer)			
ḥḏt #1[1]	*dšrt* #1[2]		
hdt	*dšrt*		
(Den)			
		sḫmty #1[3]	
		sḫmty	

Second - Tenth Dynasty: None

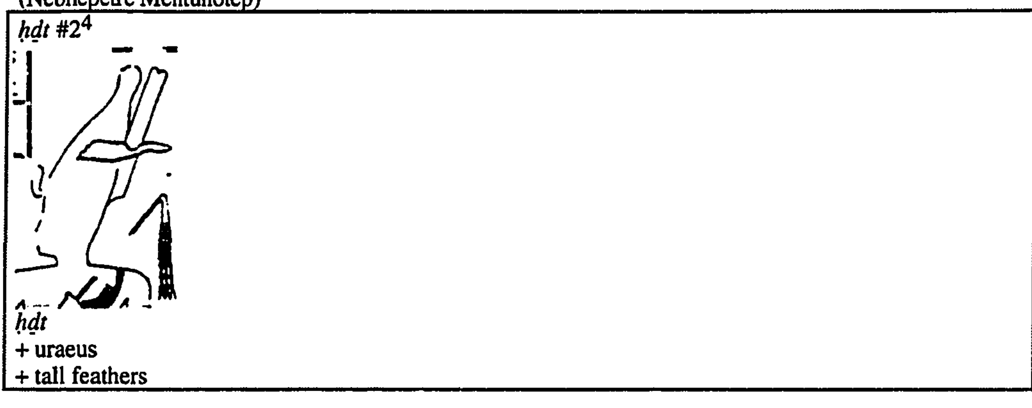
[1] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pl. 21.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 22.

[3] Petrie, *Abydos*, v. 2, pl. 14.

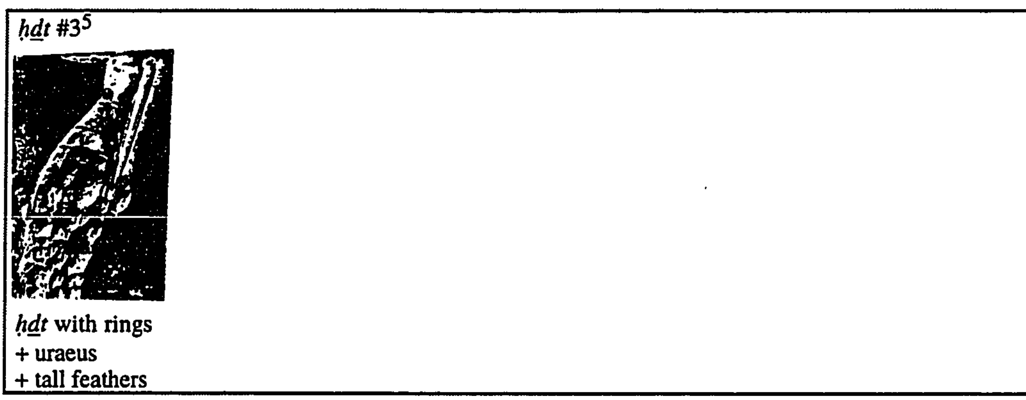


Eleventh Dynasty:
(Nebhepetre Mentuhotep)



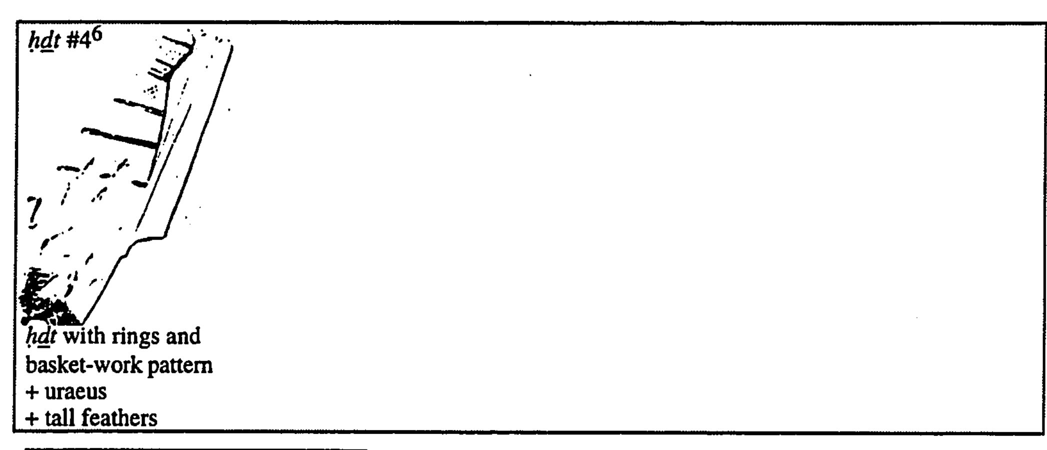
ḥḏt #2[4]

ḥḏt
+ uraeus
+ tall feathers



ḥḏt #3[5]

ḥḏt with rings
+ uraeus
+ tall feathers



ḥḏt #4[6]

ḥḏt with rings and
basket-work pattern
+ uraeus
+ tall feathers

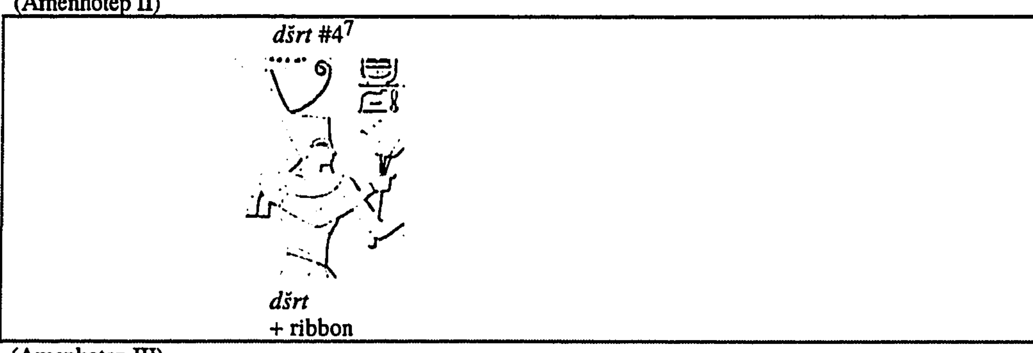
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4 Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Menthuhotp," fig. 8.

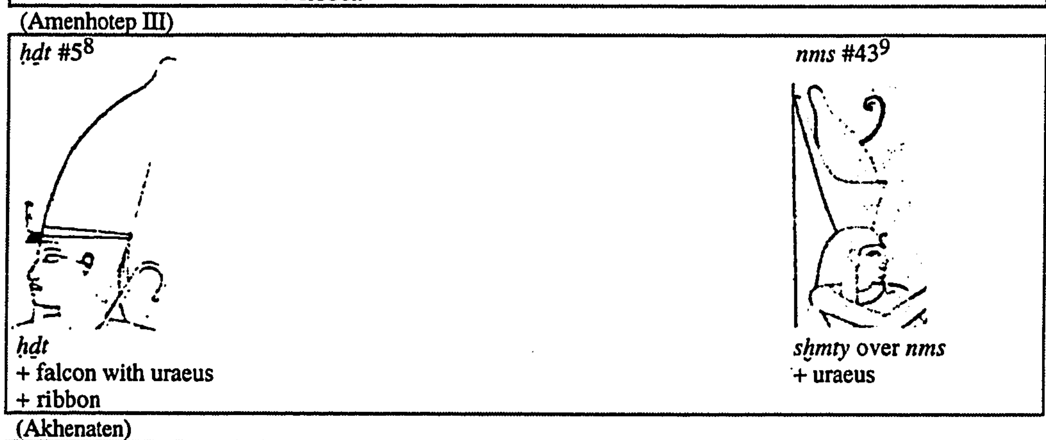
5 Naville, *XI th Dynasty Temple*, pl. 17.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. 18.

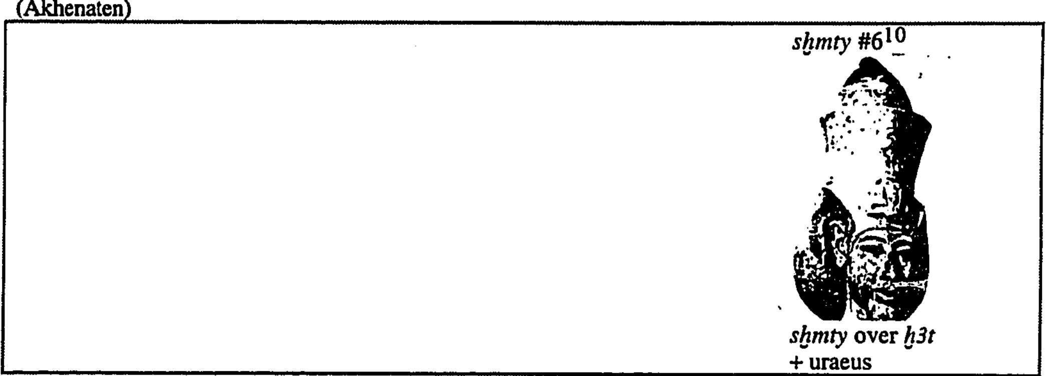
Twelfth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None
Eighteenth Dynasty:
(Amenhotep II)



(Amenhotep III)



(Akhenaten)



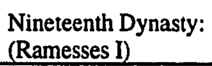
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7 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 119.

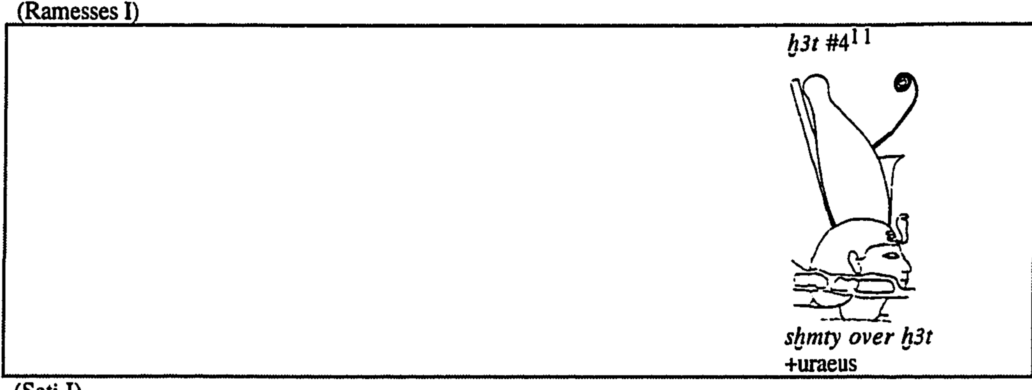
8 Fakhry, "Tomb of Kheruef," pl. 40.

9 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 71.

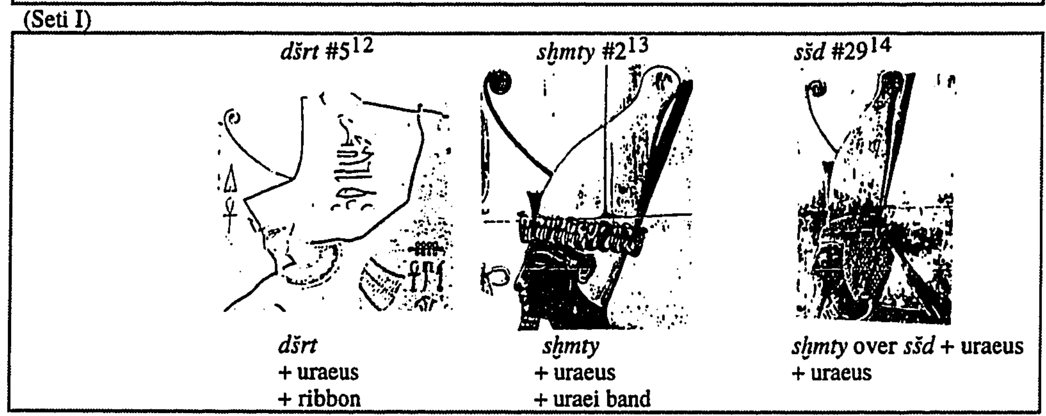
10 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* , fig. 10.



Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Ramesses I)



(Seti I)



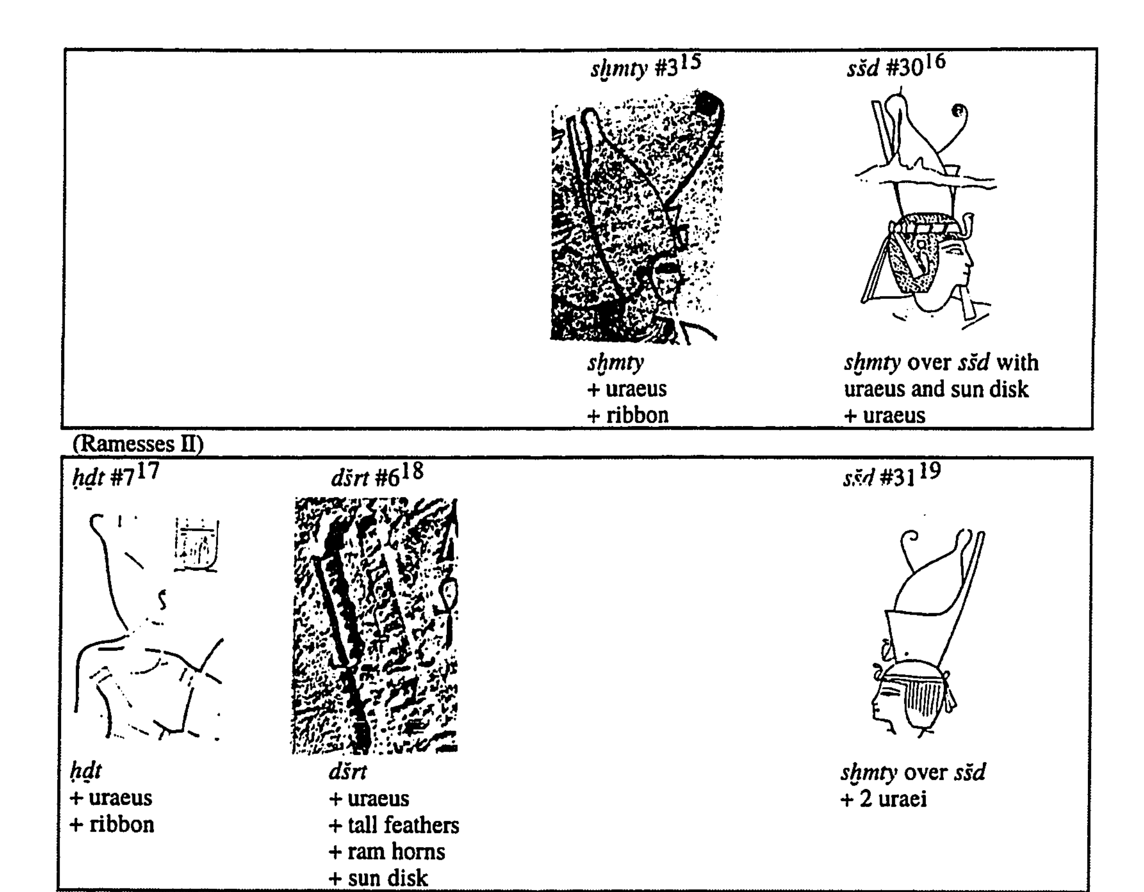
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11 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, v. 1, pl. 140.

12 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 140.

13 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 41.

14 *Ibid.*, pl. 39.



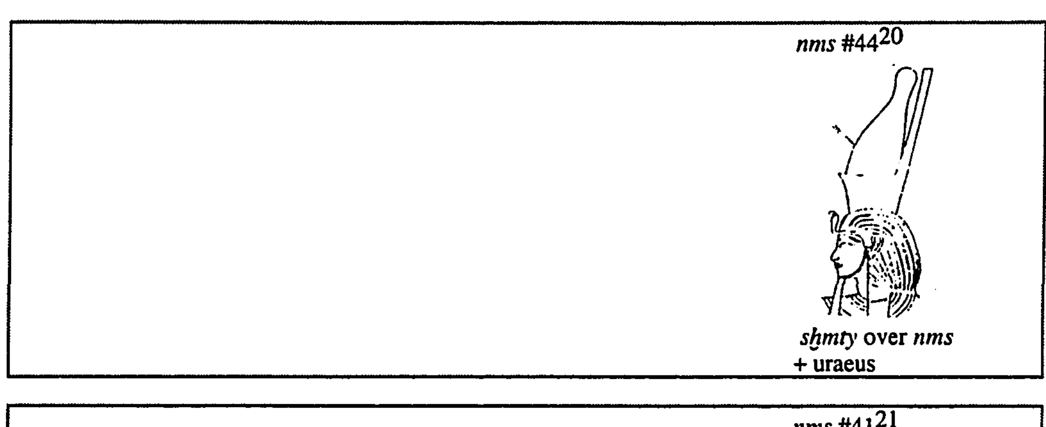
[15] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pl. 139.

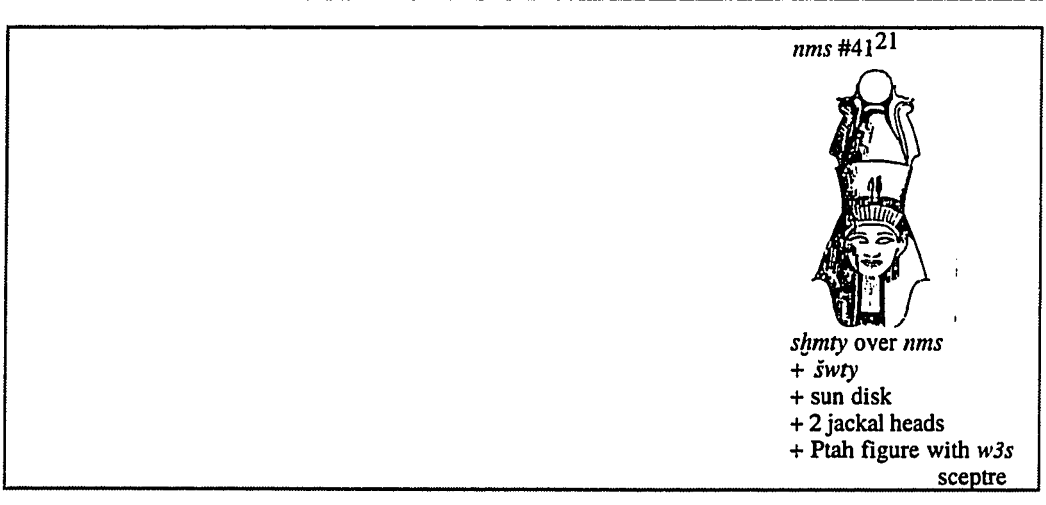
[16] Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, v. 1, pt. 1, pl. 172.

[17] Lepsius, *Denkmualer*, v. 3, pl. 148.

[18] J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos I. in Gurna* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pl. 4.

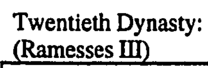
[19] Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 41.



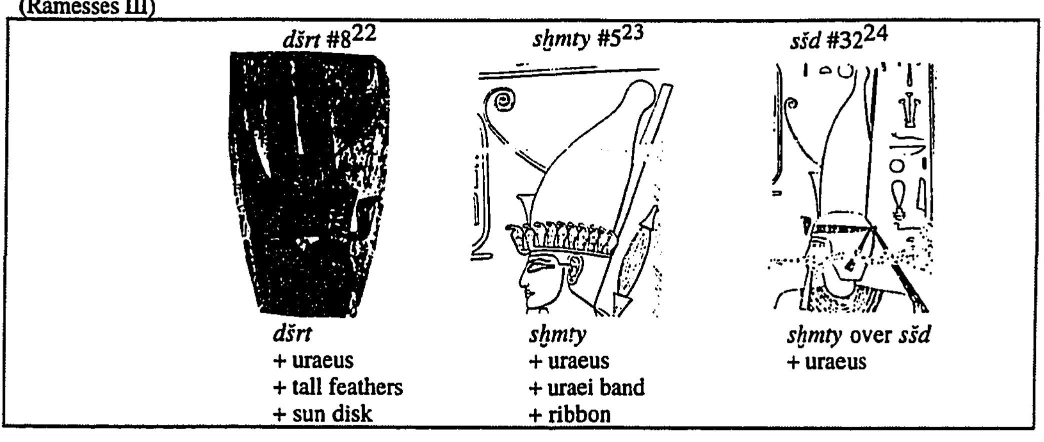


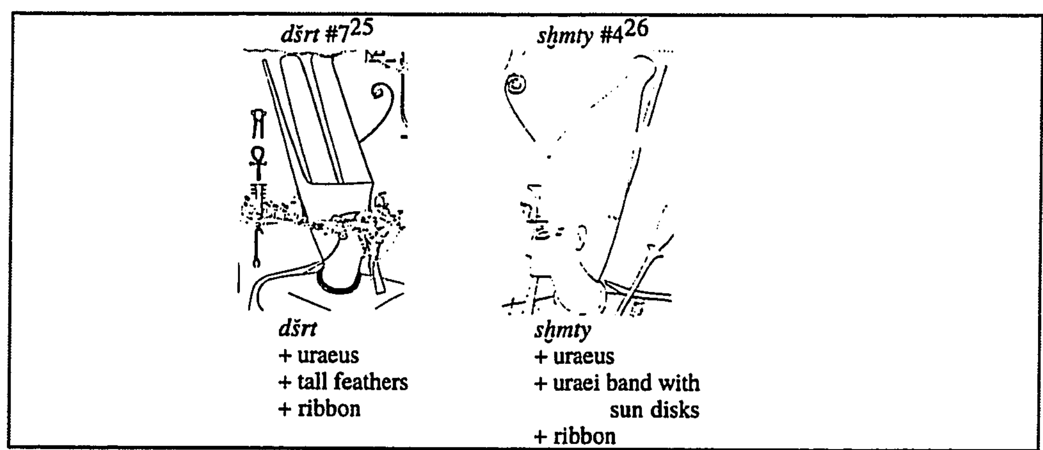
20 *Ibid.*, pl. 80.

21 Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, p. 37.



Twentieth Dynasty:
(Ramesses III)





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22 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 5, pl. 309.

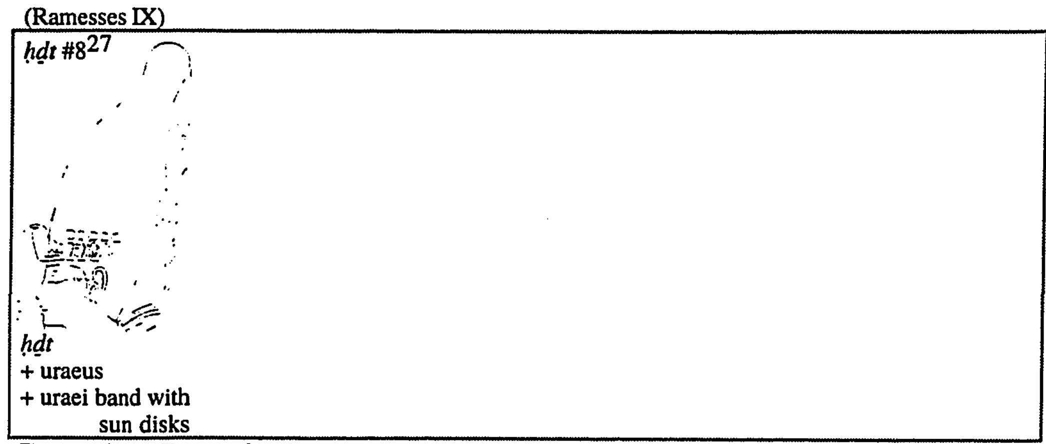
23 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 213.

24 *Ibid.*, pl. 241.

25 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 309.

26 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 205.

(Ramesses IX)

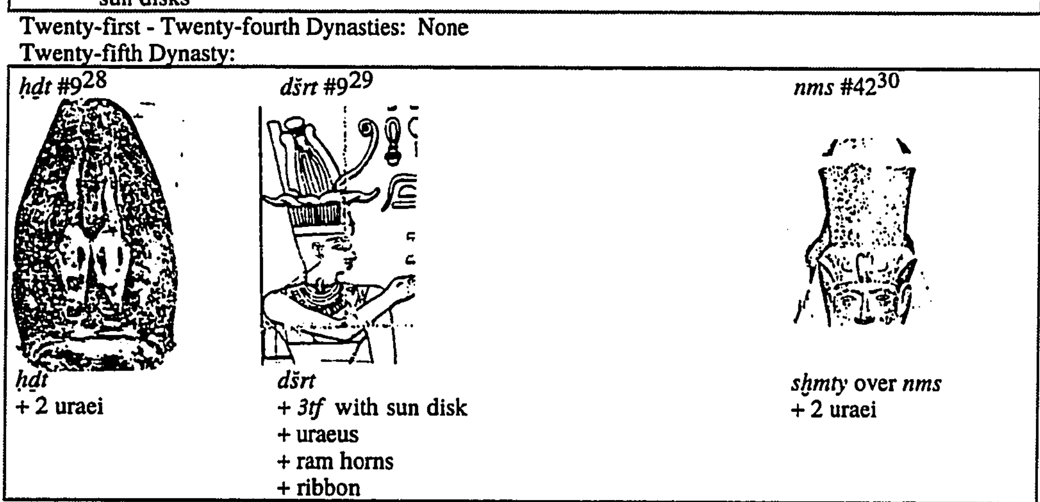


ḥḏt #8[27]

ḥḏt
+ uraeus
+ uraei band with
sun disks

Twenty-first - Twenty-fourth Dynasties: None

Twenty-fifth Dynasty:



ḥḏt #9[28]

ḥḏt
+ 2 uraei

dšrt #9[29]

dšrt
+ *3tf* with sun disk
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ ribbon

nms #42[30]

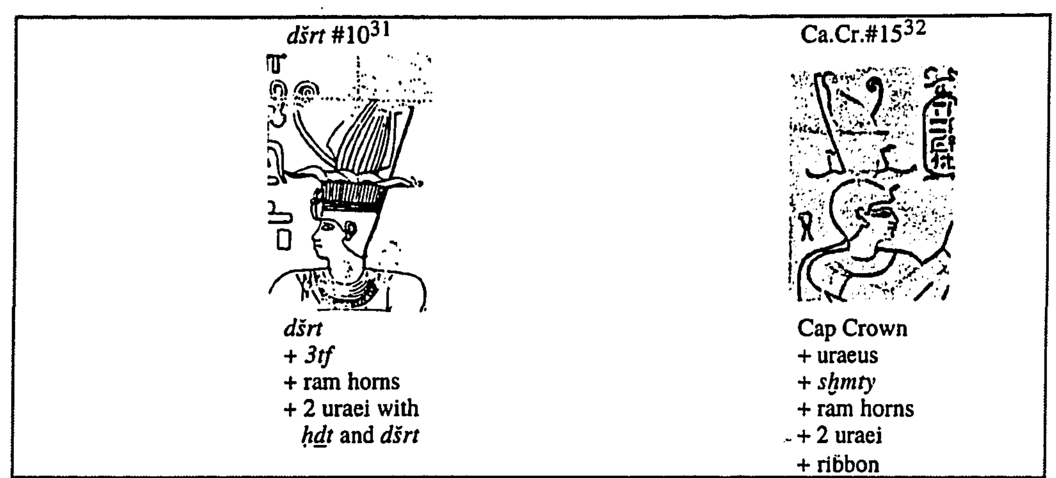
sḫmty over *nms*
+ 2 uraei

27 Guilmant, *Ramses IX*, pl. 21.

28 Russman, *Representation of the King*, fig. 10.

29 M.F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pl. 16.

30 Russman, *Representation of the King*, fig. 4.



dšrt #10[31]	Ca.Cr.#15[32]
dšrt + *3tf* + ram horns + 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*	Cap Crown + uraeus + *sḫmty* + ram horns + 2 uraei + ribbon

Twenty-sixth - Thirtieth Dynasties: none

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[31] Macadam, *Kawa*, v. 2, pl. 16.

[32] Lepsius, *Denkmualer*, v. 5, pl. 17.

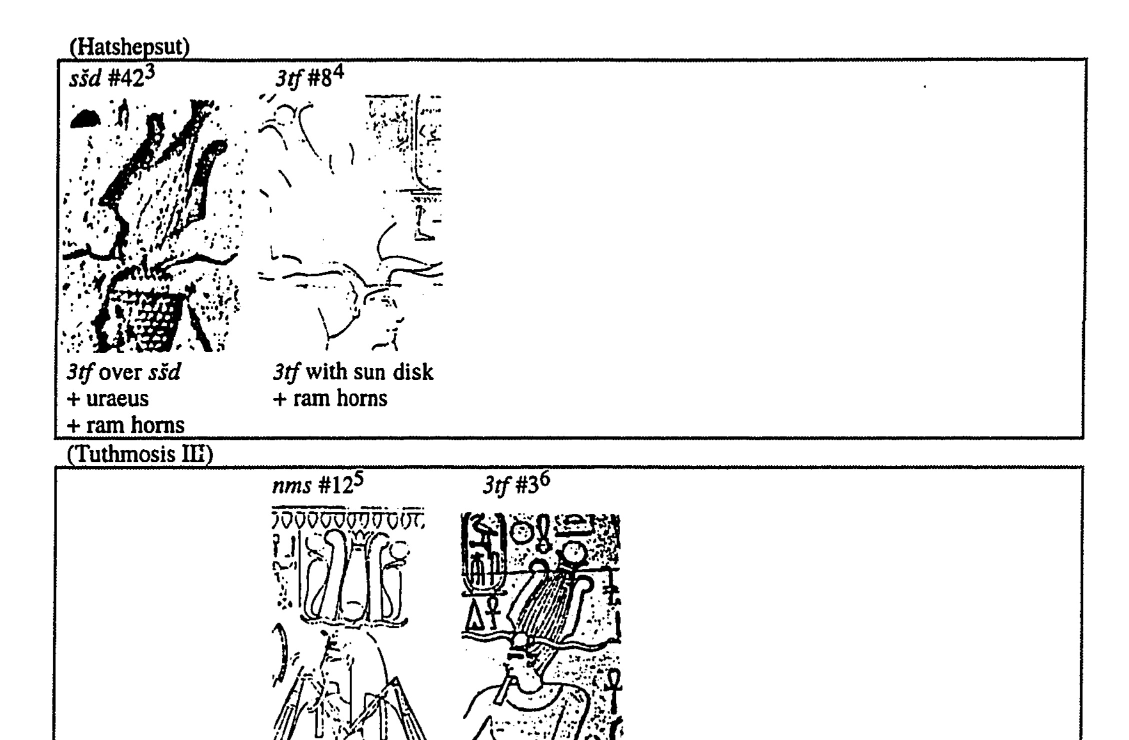
Chapter Three - Chart of Development

The *3tf*

Type I. *3tf*	Type II. *3tf* with sun disk	Type III. *3tf* with 2 sun disks	Type IV. *hmhm* with 3 sun disks	Type V. *hmhm* with 6 sun disks
First - Fourth Dynasties: None Fifth Dynasty: (Sahure)				
sšd #8[1] *3tf* over *sšd* + uraeus + ram horns + cow horns				
Sixth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None Eighteenth Dynasty: (Tuthmosis I)				
		Am.Cr. #3[2] *3tf* with 2 sun disks over Amun Crown base + uraeus + ram horns		

1 Borchardt, *Königs Sahure*, pl. 38.

2 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 23.



3tf with sun disk over *nms*
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disk

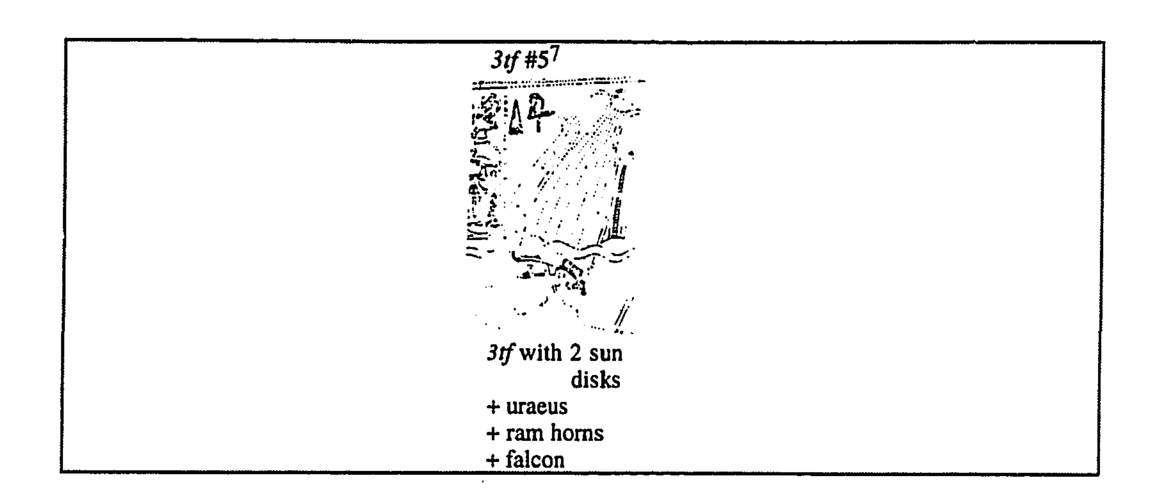
3tf with 2 sun disks
+ ram horns

3 Mysliwiec, "Les couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III," v. 2, pl. 8.

4 Naville, *Deir el-Bahri*, v. 13, pl. 20.

5 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 78b.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. 51b.

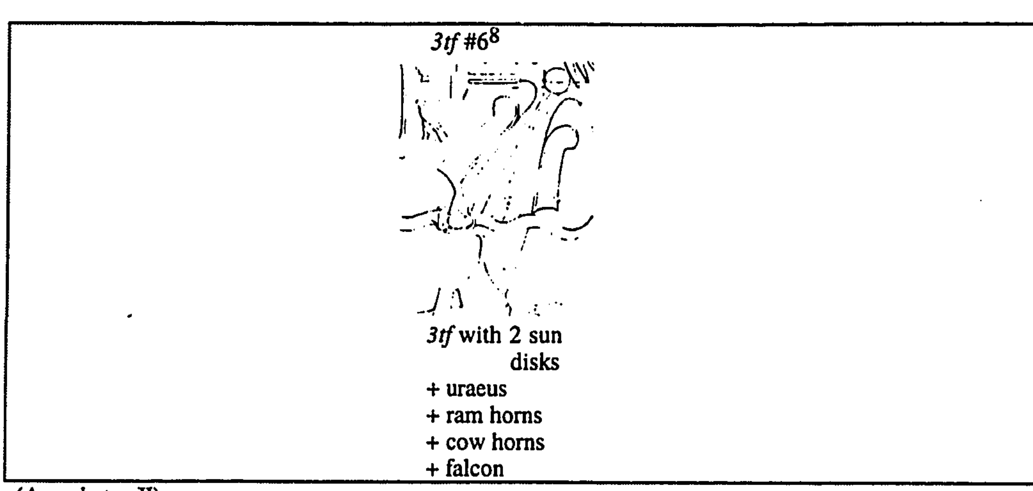


3tf #5[7]

3tf with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ falcon

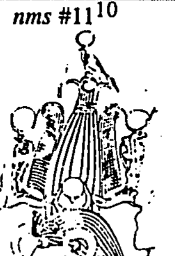
7 *Ibid.*, pl. 58.

3tf #6[8]



3tf with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ falcon

(Amenhotep II)

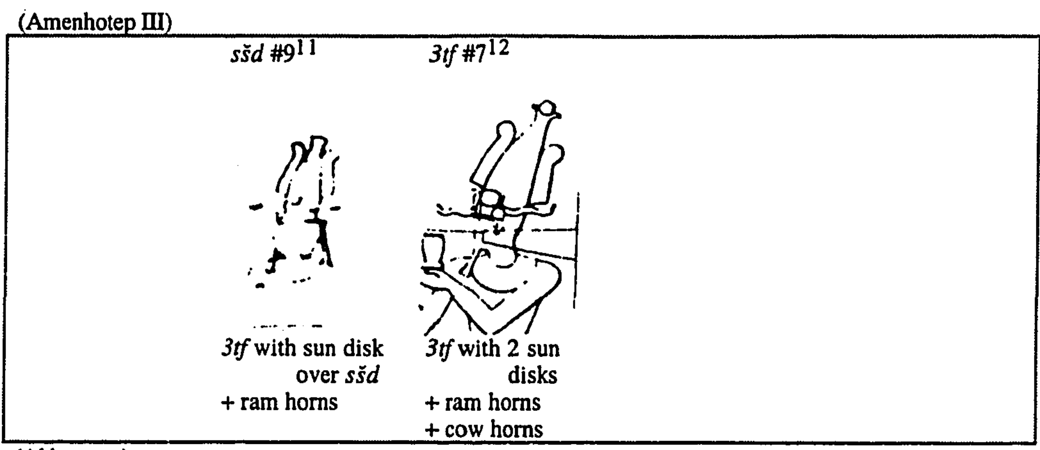
nms #48[9]	*nms* #11[10]
	
3tf with sun disk over *nms* + uraeus + ram horns + 3 uraei + uraeus with cow horns and sun disk	*3tf* with 2 sun disks over *nms* + ram horns + cow horns + 2 uraei with cow horns and sun disk + falcon with sun disk + Amun horns

8 Naville, *Deir el-Bahri*, v. 13, pl. 23.

9 Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, v. 2, fig. 24.

10 Davies, *Kenamun at Thebes*, pl. 11.

(Amenhotep III)



(Akhenaten)

nms #55[13]	*ḫ3t* #5[14]
hmhm with 3 sun disks over *nms* + ram horns + cow horns + 4 uraei with sun disks + 2 uraei with Amun Crowns and sun disks + uraei band with sun disks + 3 falcons with sun disks + 2 cartouche pairs	*hmhm* with 6 sun disks over *ḫ3t* + ram horns + cow horns + 4 uraei with sun disks + 2 uraei with Amun Crowns and sun disks + uraei band with sun disks + 3 falcons with sun disks and cartouche pairs

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11 H. Brunner, *Die Sudlichen Räume des Temples von Luxor* (Mainz am Rhein: Zabern, 1977), pl. 19.

12 *Ibid.*, pl. 19.

13 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 91 and Davies, *Rock Tombs*, v. 2, pl. 8.

14 *Ibid.*

(Tutankhamun)

sšd #28[15]

hmhm with 6 sun disks over *sšd* with uraeus and sun disk
+ ram horns
+ 6 uraei with sun disks

(Horemhab)

nms #13[16]

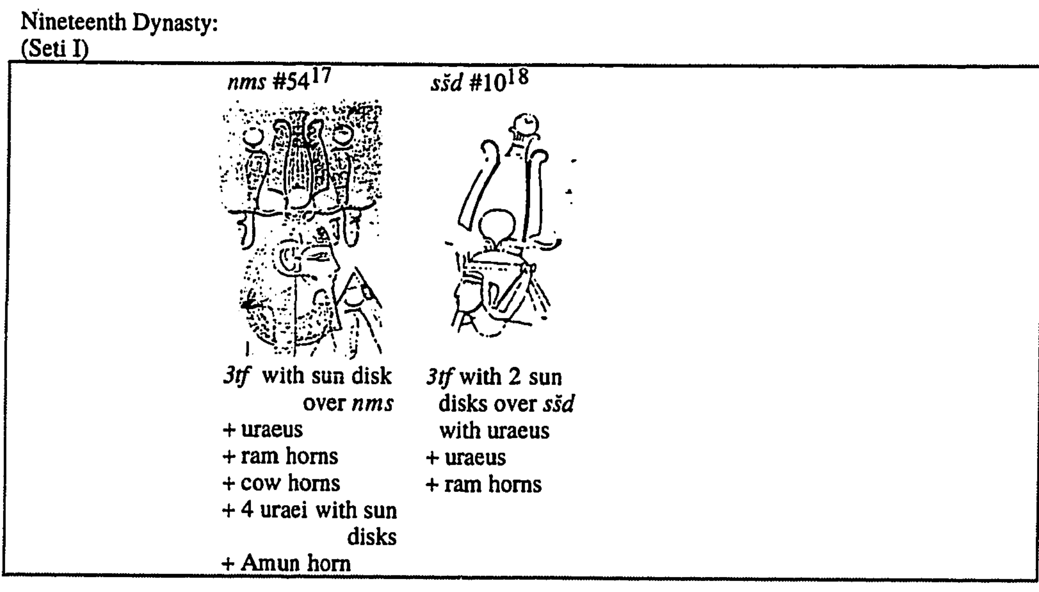
hmhm with 6 sun disks over *nms*
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

15 Edwards, *Treasures*, p. 24.

16 A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Haremheb: Theben Nr. 78* (Mainz am Rhein: Zabern, 1980), pl. 86.



Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Seti I)

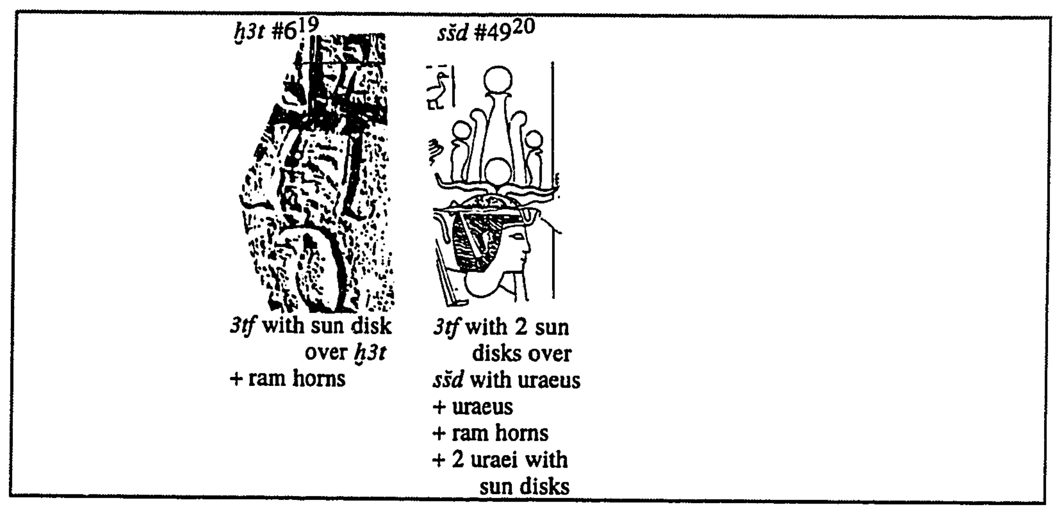


nms #54[17]

3tf with sun disk over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 4 uraei with sun disks
+ Amun horn

sšd #10[18]

3tf with 2 sun disks over *sšd* with uraeus
+ uraeus
+ ram horns



ḫ3t #6[19]

3tf with sun disk over *ḫ3t*
+ ram horns

sšd #49[20]

3tf with 2 sun disks over *sšd* with uraeus
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

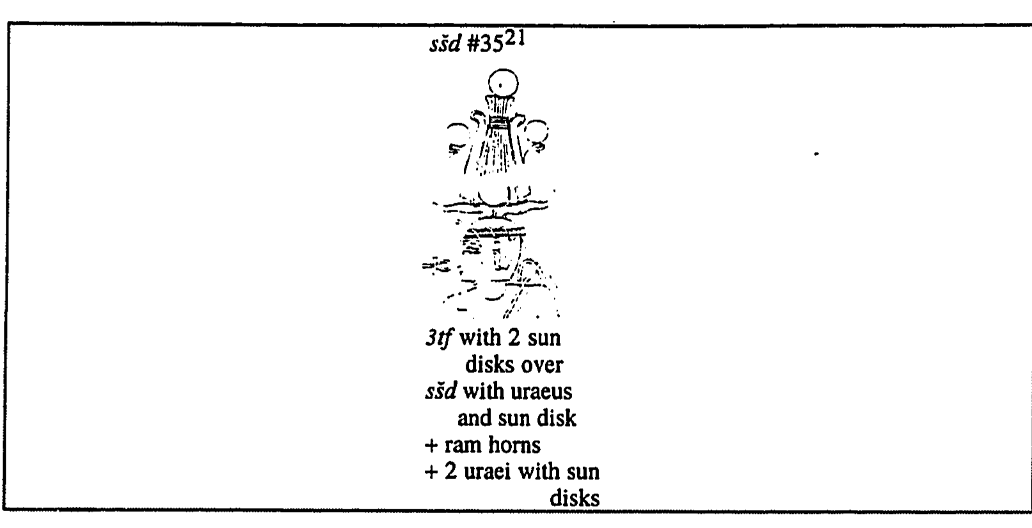
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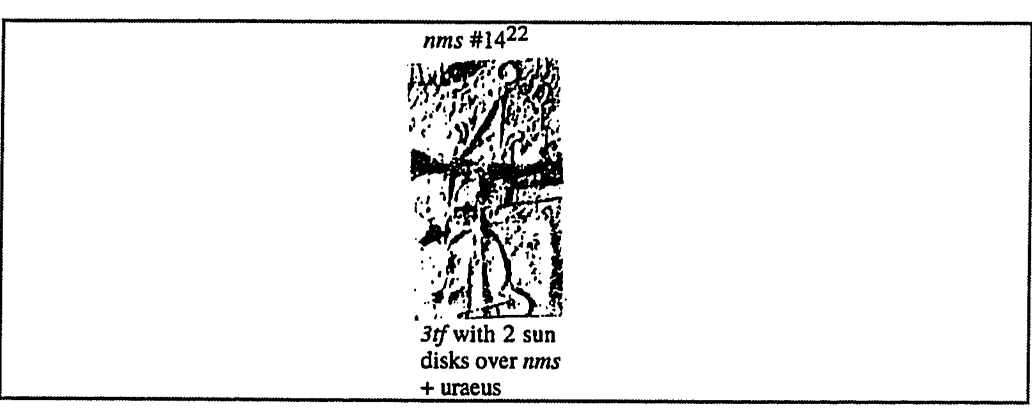
17 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 132n.

18 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 72.

19 Osing, *Tempel Sethos I*, pl. 21.

20 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 192.





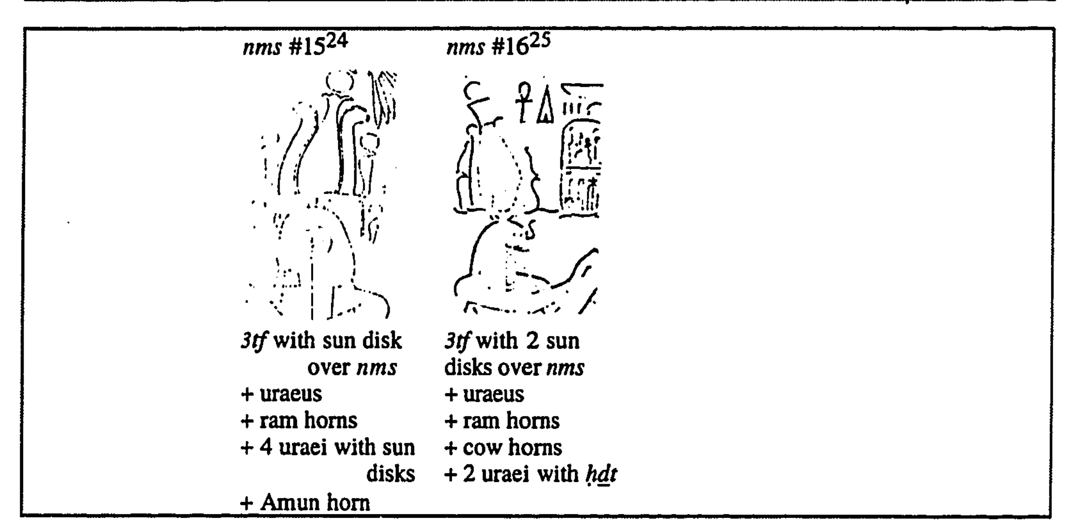
21 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 78.

22 Osing, *Tempel Sethos I*, pl. 18.

(Ramesses II)

nms #22[23]

3tf with sun disk over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns



nms #15[24]

3tf with sun disk over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 4 uraei with sun disks
+ Amun horn

nms #16[25]

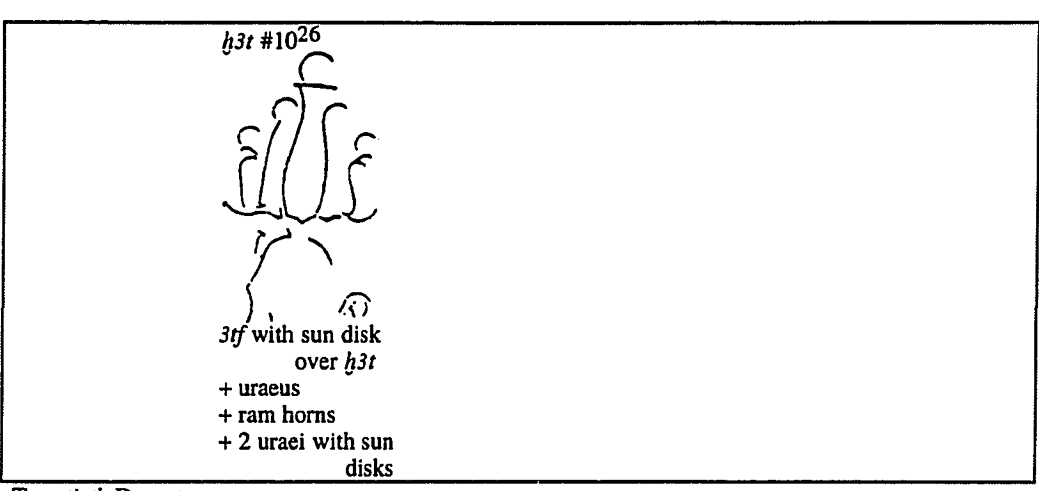
3tf with 2 sun disks over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt*

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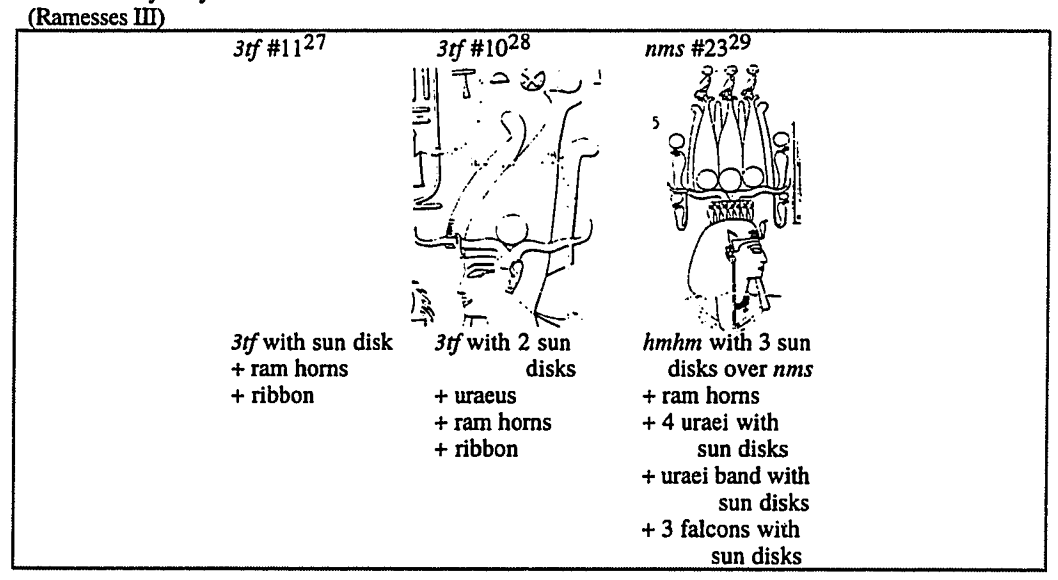
23 Osing, *Tempel Sethos I*, pl. 6.

24 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2

25 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 147.



Twentieth Dynasty:
(Ramesses III)



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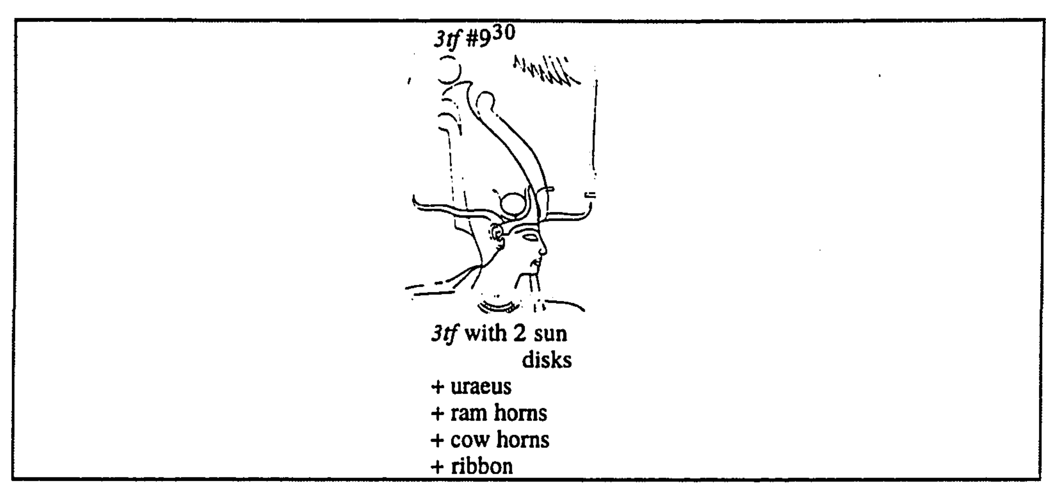
26 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 150.

27 Plate not available; Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 4, pl. 241.

28 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 285.

29 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 238.

3tf #9[30]



3tf with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ ribbon

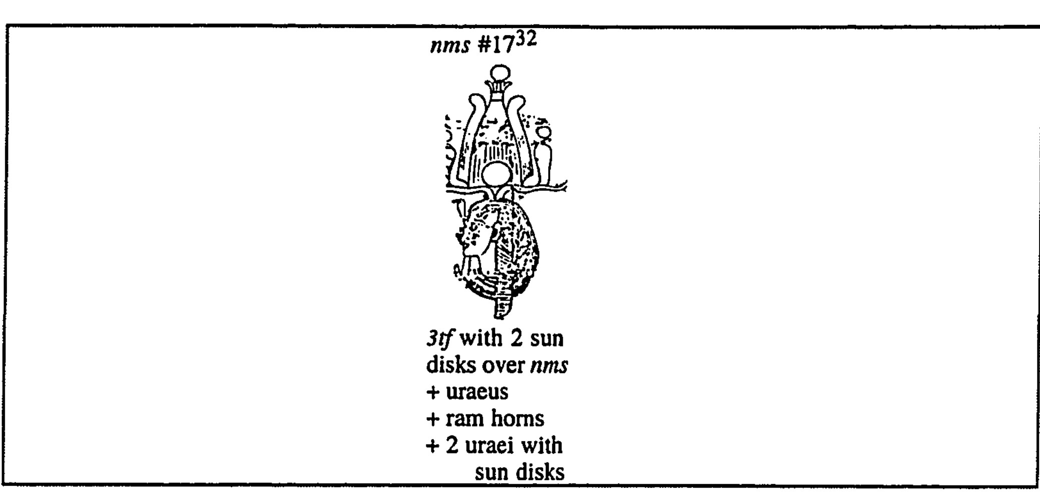
sšd #13[31]

3tf with 2 sun disks over *sšd* with uraeus and sun disk
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*

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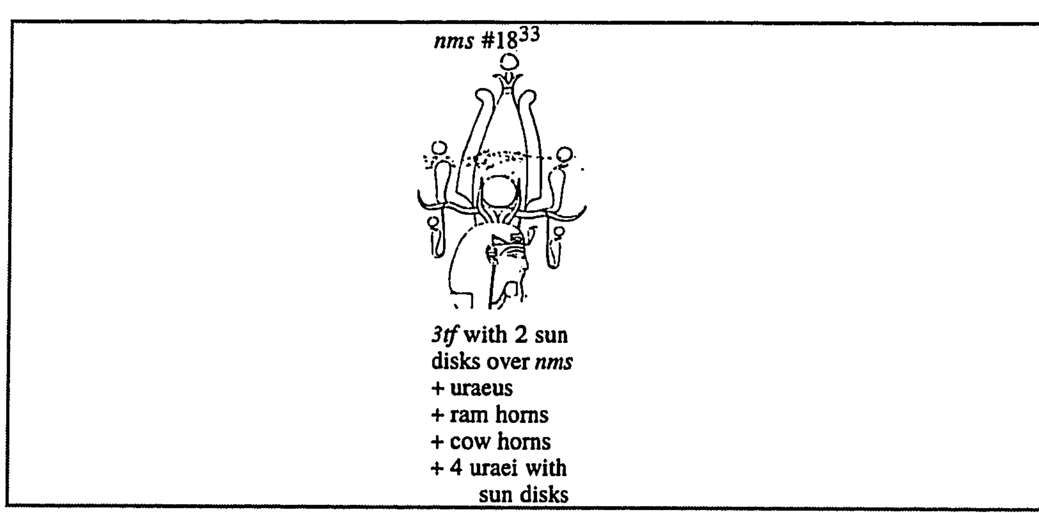
30 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 286.

31 *Ibid.*, pl. 317.



nms #17[32]

3tf with 2 sun disks over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks



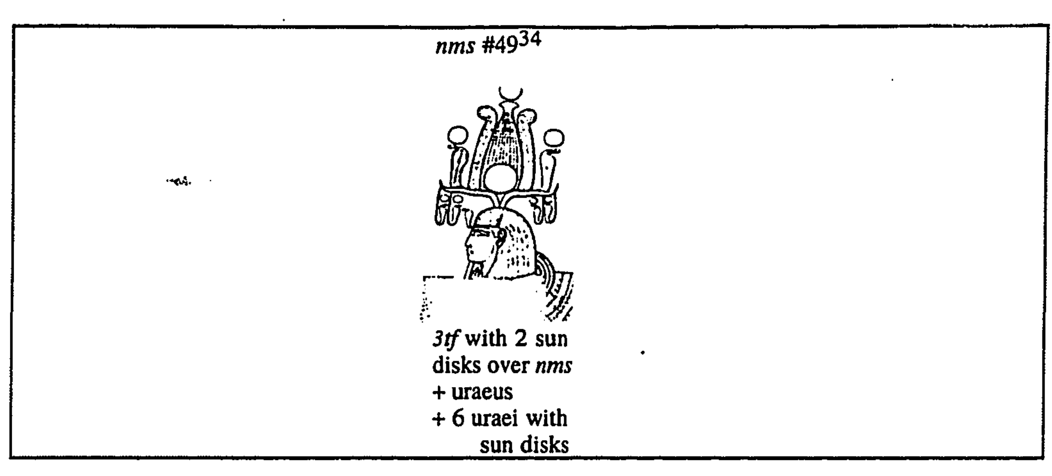
nms #18[33]

3tf with 2 sun disks over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 4 uraei with sun disks

32 *Ibid.*, v. 6, pl. 447.

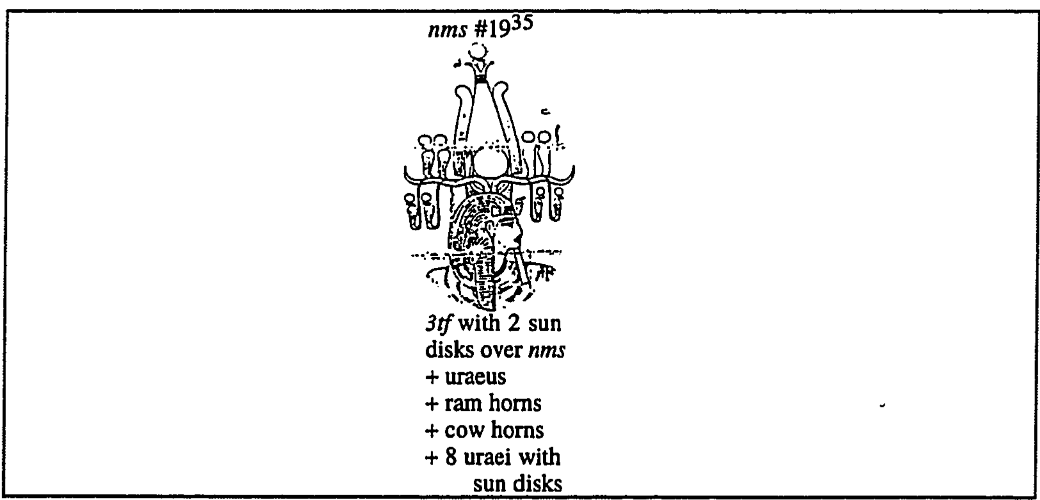
33 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 316.

nms #49[34]



3tf with 2 sun disks over *nms* + uraeus + 6 uraei with sun disks

nms #19[35]



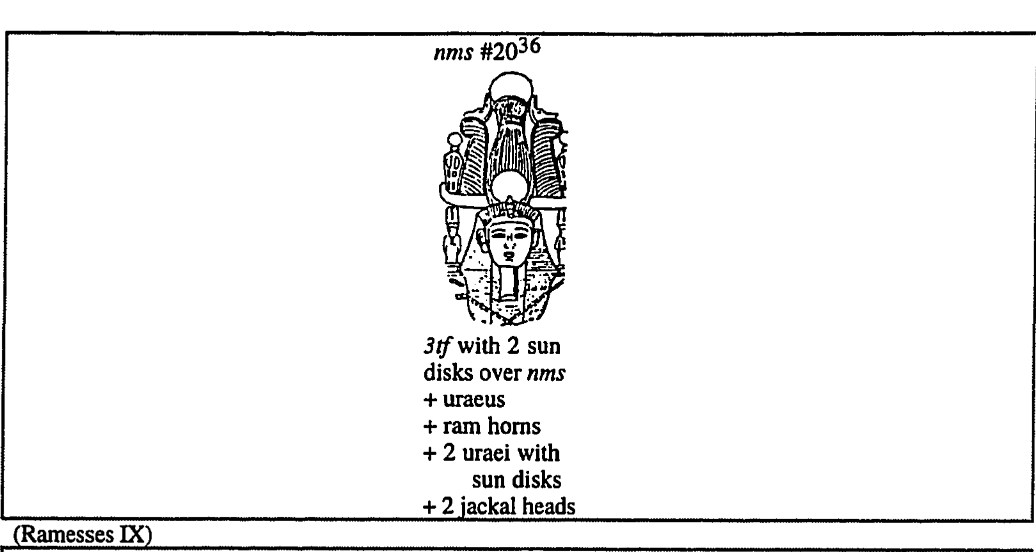
3tf with 2 sun disks over *nms* + uraeus + ram horns + cow horns + 8 uraei with sun disks

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34 *Ibid.*, pl. 335.

35 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 235.

nms #20[36]



3tf with 2 sun disks over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ 2 jackal heads

(Ramesses IX)

nms #21[37]



3tf with 2 sun disks over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ ram head with uraeus
+ *ẖ3bt*

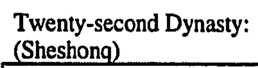
Twenty-first Dynasty: None

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36 Habachi, *Deification*, fig. 25.

37 Guilmant, *Ramses IX*, pl. 76.

Twenty-second Dynasty:
(Sheshonq)



Am.Cr. #11[38]

3tf with sun disk
over Am.Cr. base
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with
ḥḏt and *dšrt*

Am.Cr. #12[39]

3tf with sun disk
over Am.Cr. base
+ uraeus with
sḫmty
+ 2 uraei with
ḥḏt and *dšrt*
+ Amun horns

Twenty-third - Twenty-fourth Dynasties: None

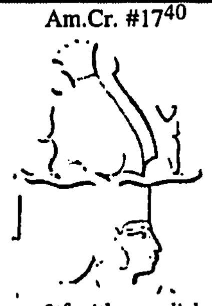
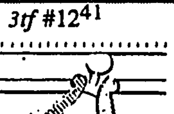
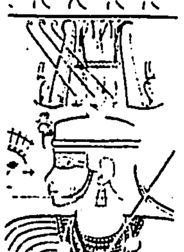
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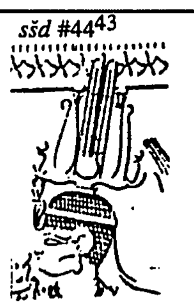
38 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 5, pl. 10.

39 *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

Twenty-fifth Dynasty:



Am.Cr. #17[40]	*3tf* #12[41]	Am.Cr. #16[42]
	 	
3tf with sun disk over Am. Cr. base + ram horns + 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* + ribbon	*3tf* with 2 sun disks + uraeus with sun disk and cow horns + ram horns + uraei band + 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* + ribbon	*hmhm* over Amun Crown + uraeus with ram horns and tall feathers + ram horns + ribbon + 2 uraei with Amun Crowns + 3 *ẖ3bt*

sšd #44[43]

double *3tf* with 2 sun disks over *sšd* + uraeus + sun disk + tall feathers + ram horns + sun disk + 2 uraei with sun disks

Twenty-sixth - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

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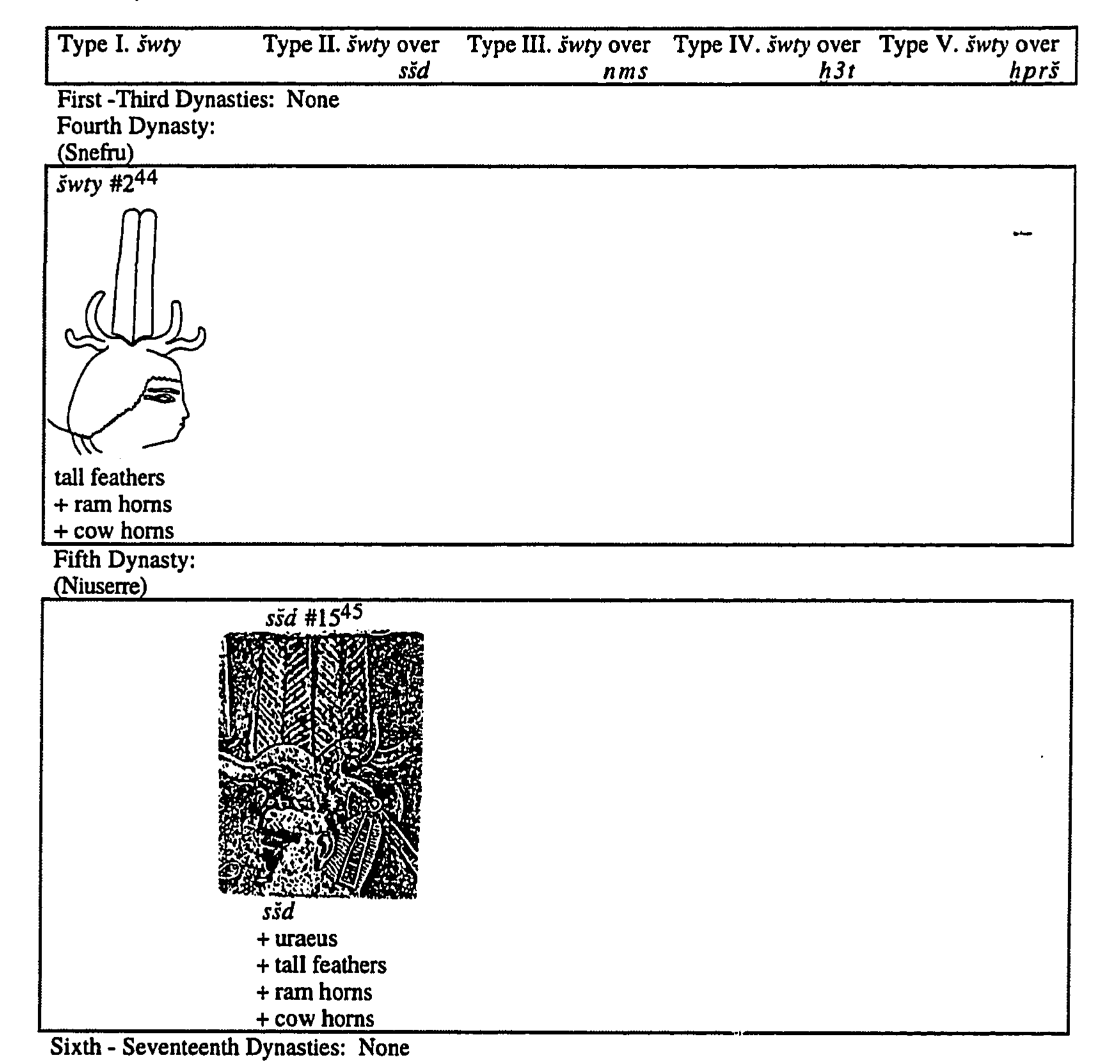
40 *Ibid.*, pl. 10.

41 *Ibid.*, pl. 27.

42 *Ibid.*, pl. 60.

43 *Ibid.*, pl. 41.

The *šwty*



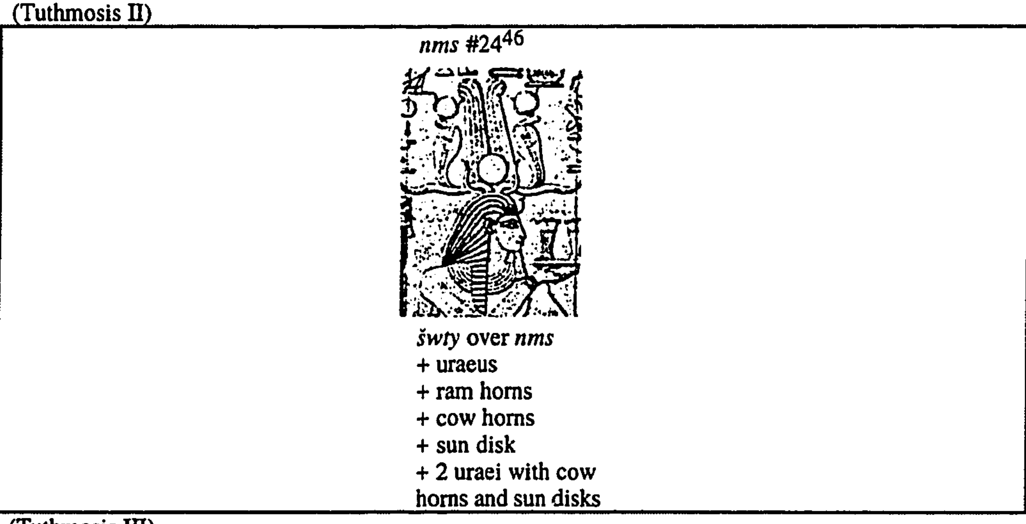
Type I. *šwty*	Type II. *šwty* over *sšd*	Type III. *šwty* over *nms*	Type IV. *šwty* over *h3t*	Type V. *šwty* over *hprš*
First -Third Dynasties: None				
Fourth Dynasty: (Snefru)				
šwty #2[44] tall feathers + ram horns + cow horns				
Fifth Dynasty: (Niuserre)				
	sšd #15[45] *sšd* + uraeus + tall feathers + ram horns + cow horns			
Sixth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None				

[44] Gardiner, *Sinai*, pl. 2.

[45] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907), pl. 16.

Eighteenth Dynasty:
(Tuthmosis II)

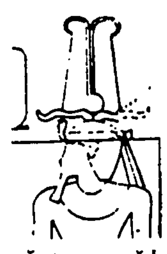
nms #24[46]



šwty over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with cow horns and sun disks

(Tuthmosis III)

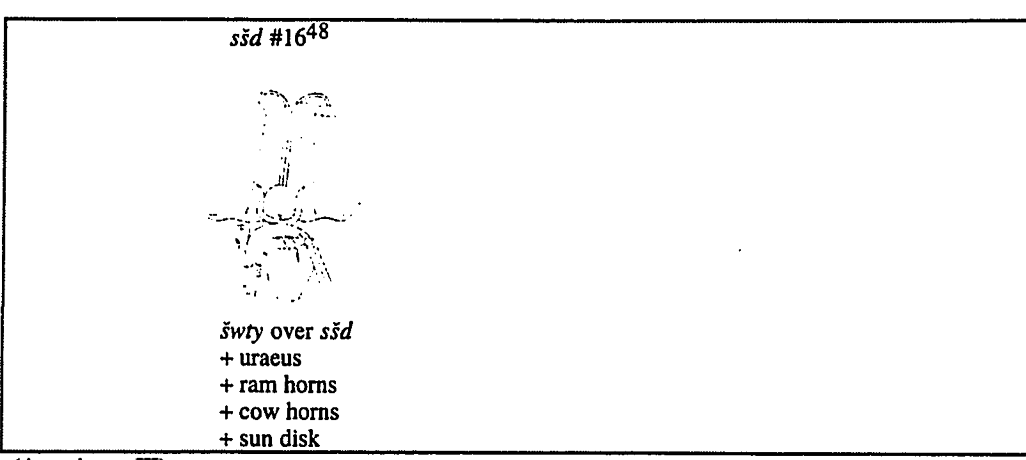
sšd #17[47]



šwty over *sšd*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk

46 Lepsius, *Denkmuäler*, v. 3, pl. 21.

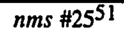
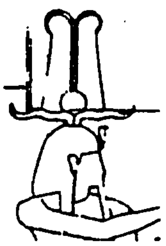
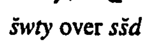
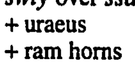
47 *Ibid.*, pl. 45e.



sšd #16[48]

šwty over *sšd*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ sun disk

(Amenhotep III)

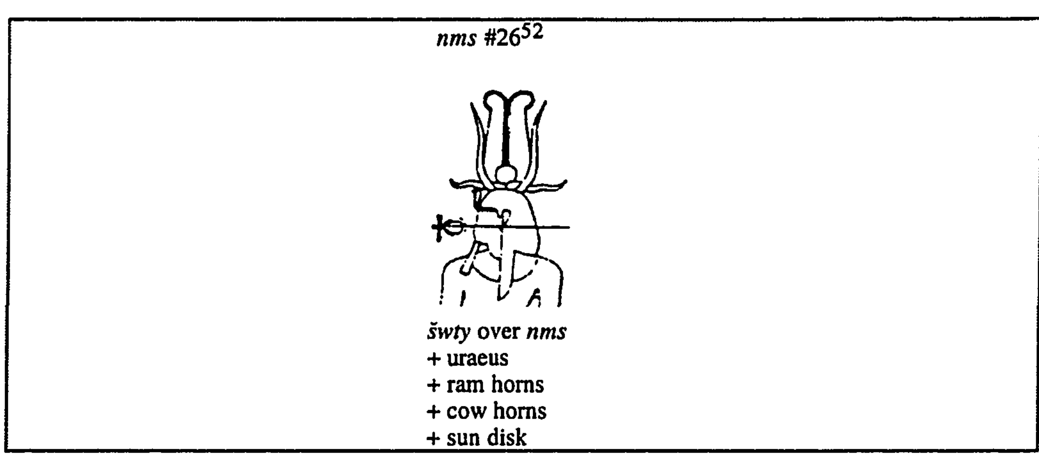
šwty #3[49]	*sšd* #24[50]	*nms* #25[51]
		 
šwty + uraeus + ram horns + cow horns + sun disk + 4 uraei with sun disks	 *šwty* over *sšd*  + uraeus + ram horns	*šwty* over *nms* + uraeus + ram horns + sun disk

48 *Ibid.*, pl. 58.

49 W.M.F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London: B. Quaritch, 1897), pl. 10.

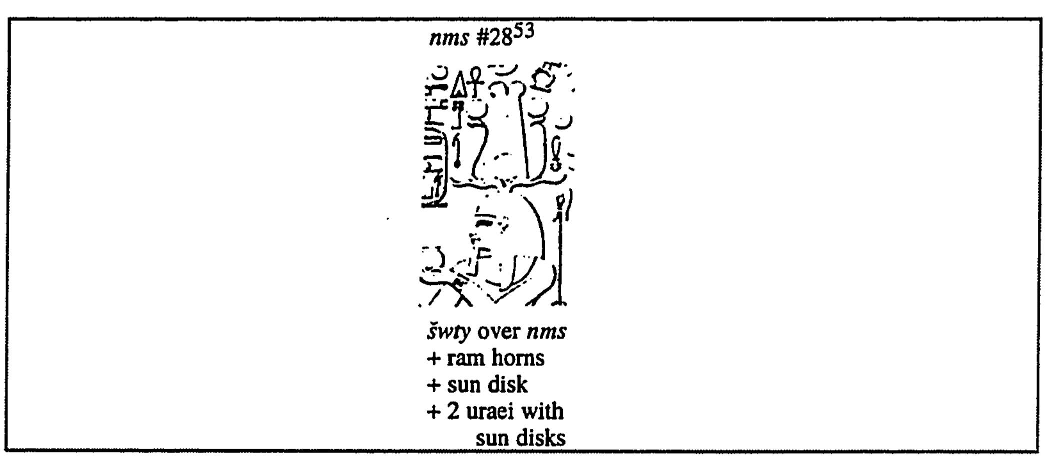
50 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 81g.

51 Brunner, *Sudlichen Räume*, pl. 18.



nms #26[52]

šwty over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ sun disk

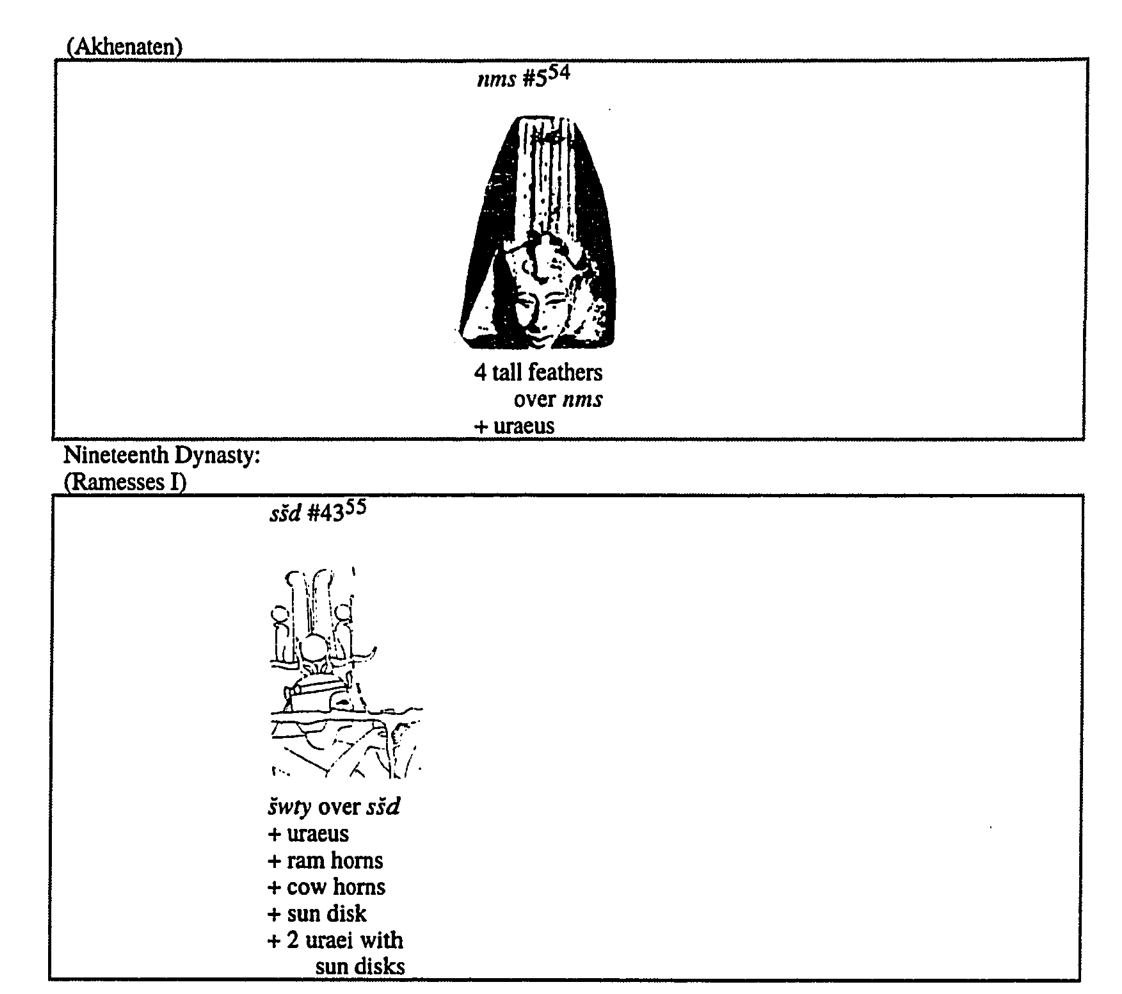


nms #28[53]

šwty over *nms*
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with
sun disks

52 *Ibid.*, pl. 20.

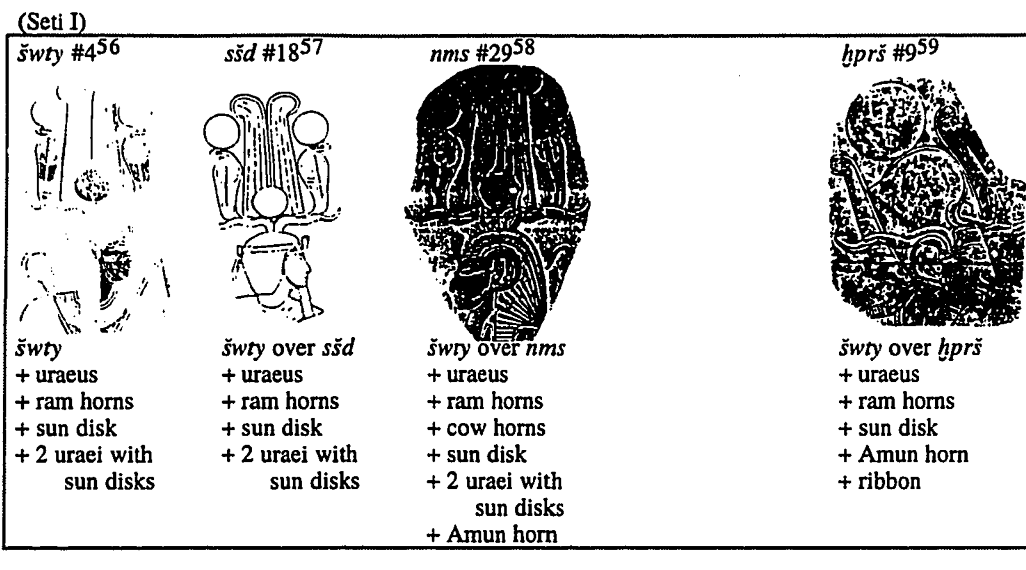
53 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 80c.

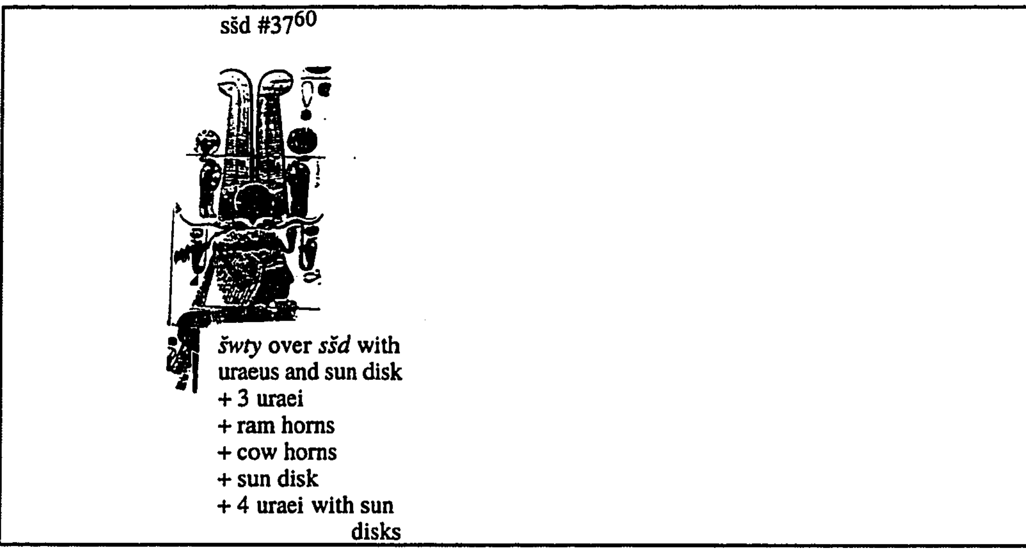


54 Abd-ur Rahman, "Four-Feathered Crown," pl. 1.

55 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 140.

(Seti I)





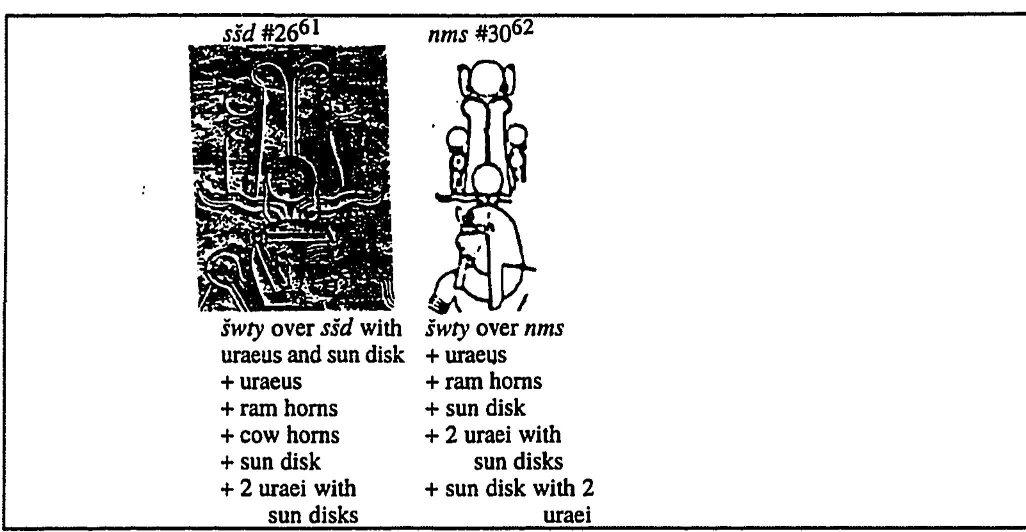
56 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 36.

57 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 37.

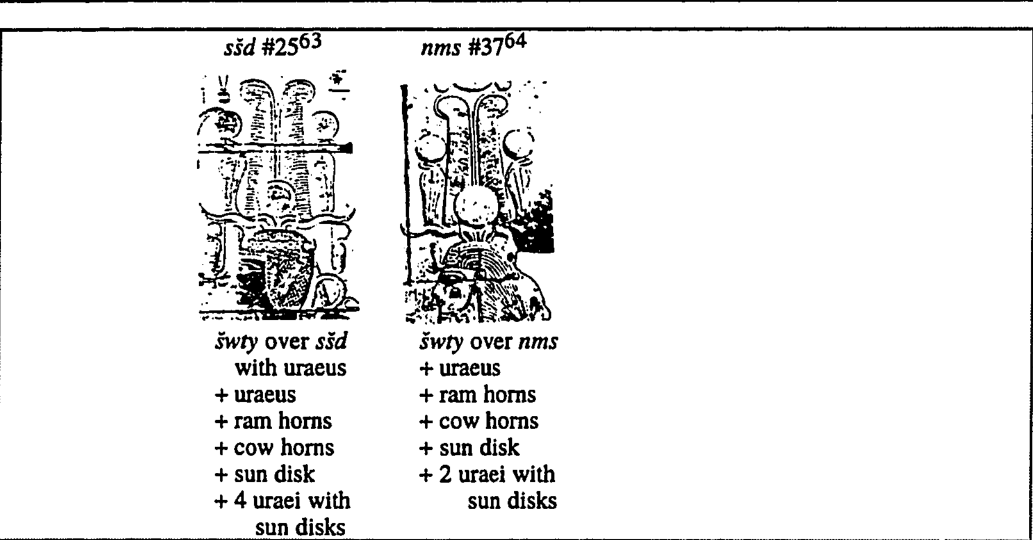
58 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 40.

59 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 44.

60 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 22.



sšd #26[61]	*nms* #30[62]
šwty over *sšd* with uraeus and sun disk	*šwty* over *nms*
+ uraeus	+ uraeus
+ ram horns	+ ram horns
+ cow horns	+ sun disk
+ sun disk	+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ 2 uraei with sun disks	+ sun disk with 2 uraei



sšd #25[63]	*nms* #37[64]
šwty over *sšd* with uraeus	*šwty* over *nms*
+ uraeus	+ uraeus
+ ram horns	+ ram horns
+ cow horns	+ cow horns
+ sun disk	+ sun disk
+ 4 uraei with sun disks	+ 2 uraei with sun disks

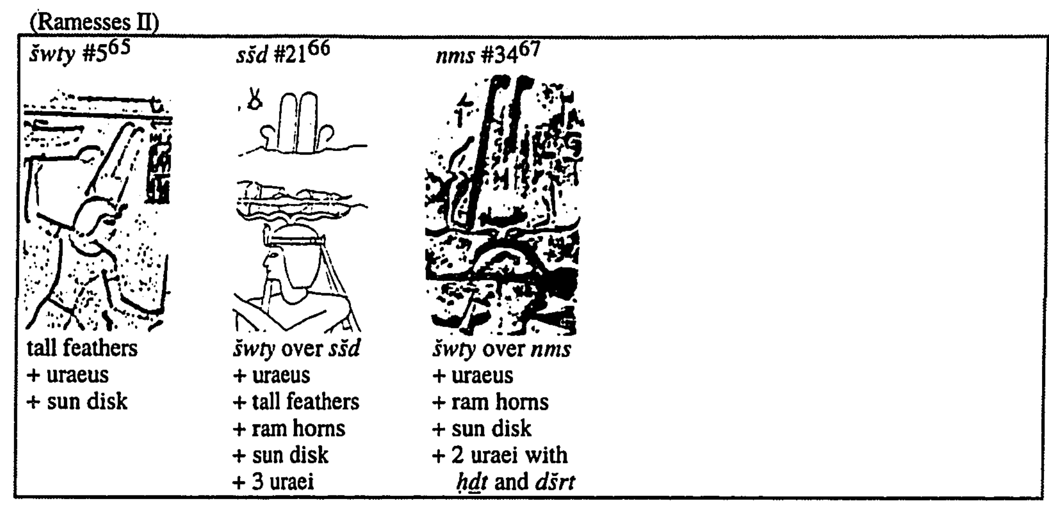
61 *Ibid.*, pl. 43.

62 David, *Religious Ritual*, p. 45.

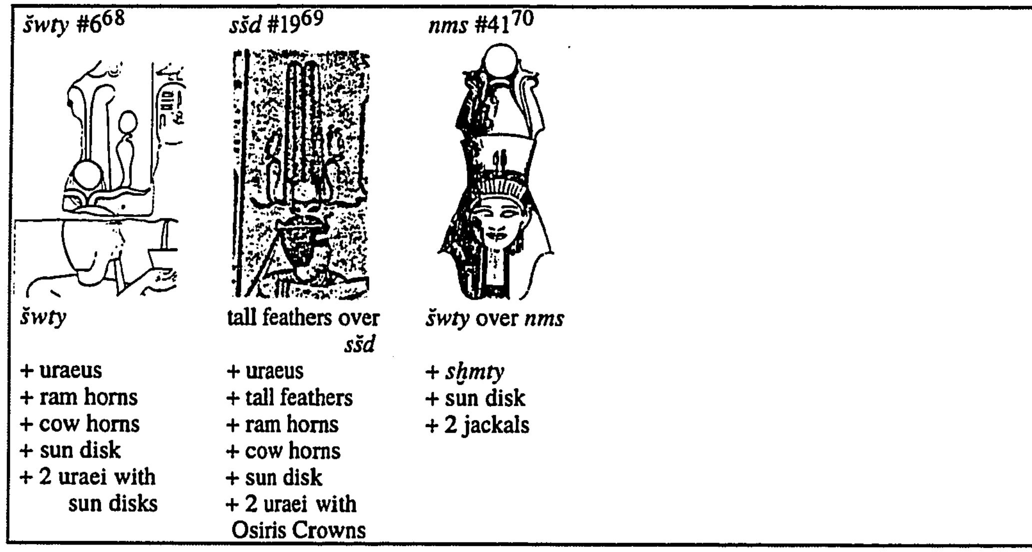
63 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 19.

64 *Ibid.*, pl. 44.

(Ramesses II)



šwty #5[65]	*sšd* #21[66]	*nms* #34[67]
tall feathers	*šwty* over *sšd*	*šwty* over *nms*
+ uraeus	+ uraeus	+ uraeus
+ sun disk	+ tall feathers	+ ram horns
	+ ram horns	+ sun disk
	+ sun disk	+ 2 uraei with
	+ 3 uraei	*ḥḏt* and *dšrt*



šwty #6[68]	*sšd* #19[69]	*nms* #41[70]
šwty	tall feathers over *sšd*	*šwty* over *nms*
+ uraeus	+ uraeus	+ *sḫmty*
+ ram horns	+ tall feathers	+ sun disk
+ cow horns	+ ram horns	+ 2 jackals
+ sun disk	+ cow horns	
+ 2 uraei with sun disks	+ sun disk	
	+ 2 uraei with Osiris Crowns	

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65 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 195.

66 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 96.

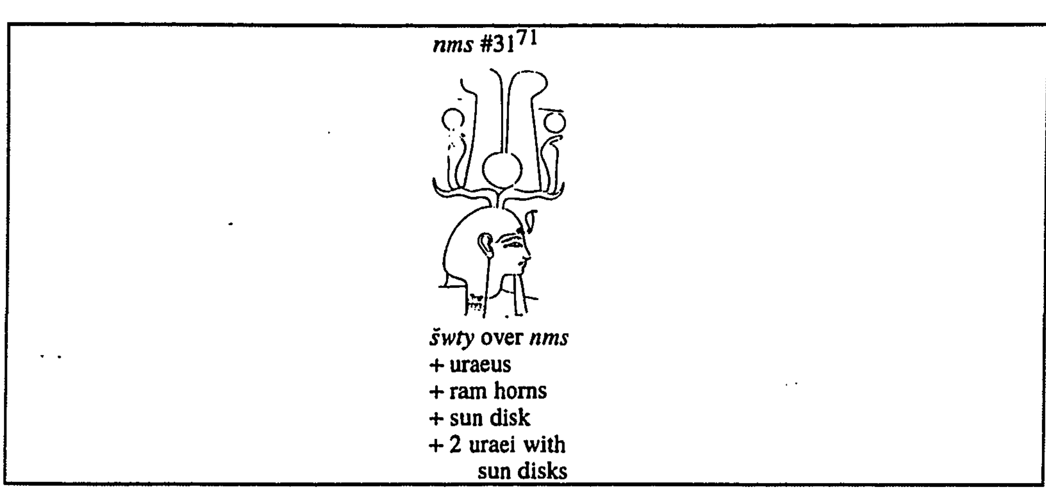
67 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 81.

68 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 113.

69 Lepsius, *Denkmuäler*, v. 3, pl. 147.

70 Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, fig. 24.

nms #31[71]



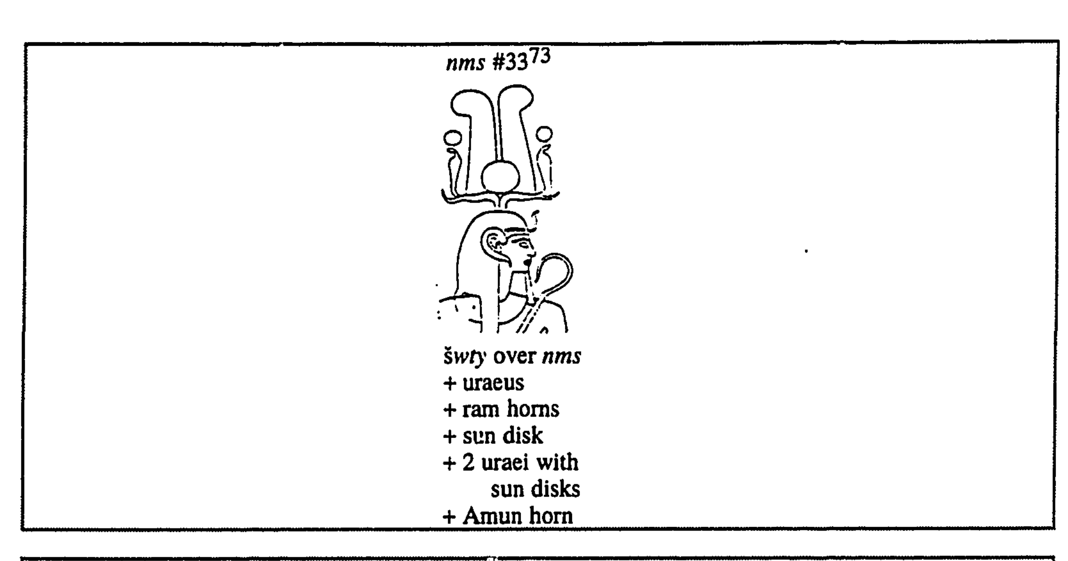
šwty over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

nms #32[72]

šwty over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 2 sun disks
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

71 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 40.

72 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 179.



nms #33[73]

šwty over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with
sun disks
+ Amun horn

nms #50[74]

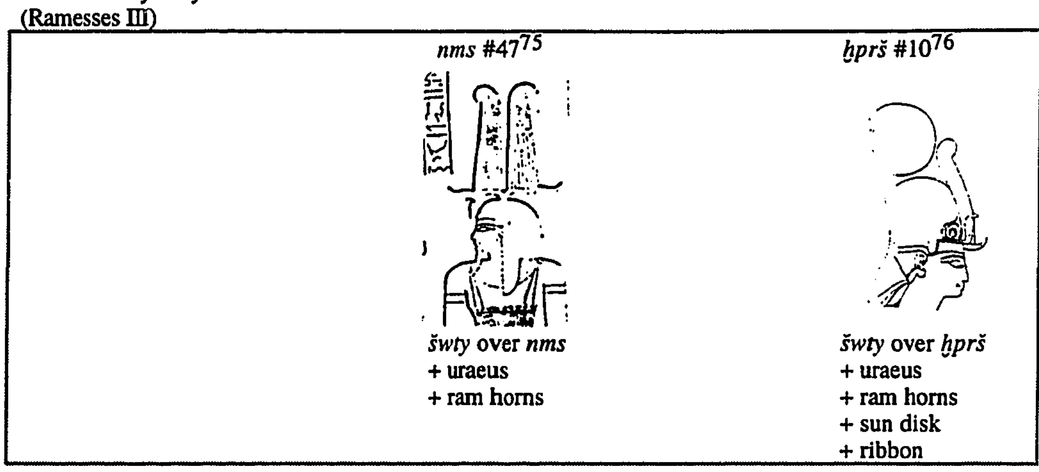


šwty over *nms*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 4 uraei with
sun disks

73 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 122.

74 *Ibid.*, pl. 20.


Twentieth Dynasty:
(Ramesses III)



ḫprš #13[77]



šwty over *ḫprš*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

75 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 224.

76 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 5, pl. 335.

77 A. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), frontispiece.

ḫprš #12[78]

šwty over *ḫprš*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ ribbon
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*

ḫprš #11[79]

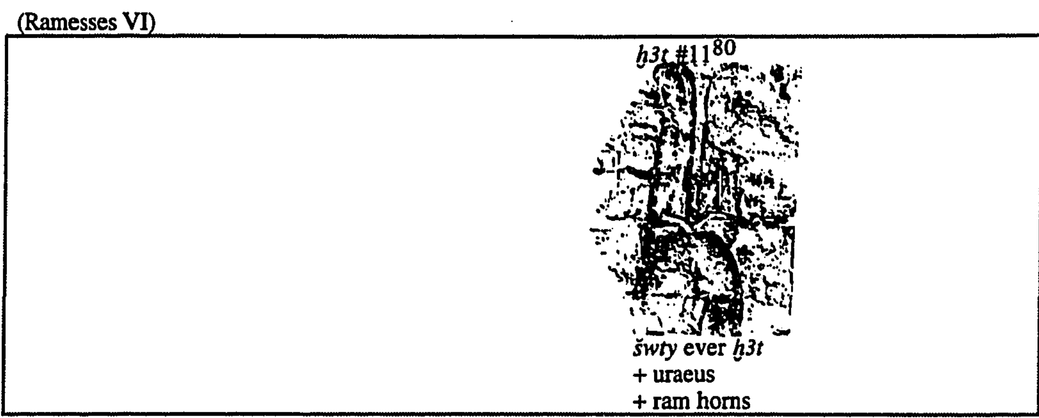
šwty over *ḫprš*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ uraeus with Osiris Crown
+ ribbon

78 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 2.

79 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 4, pl. 237.

(Ramesses VI)

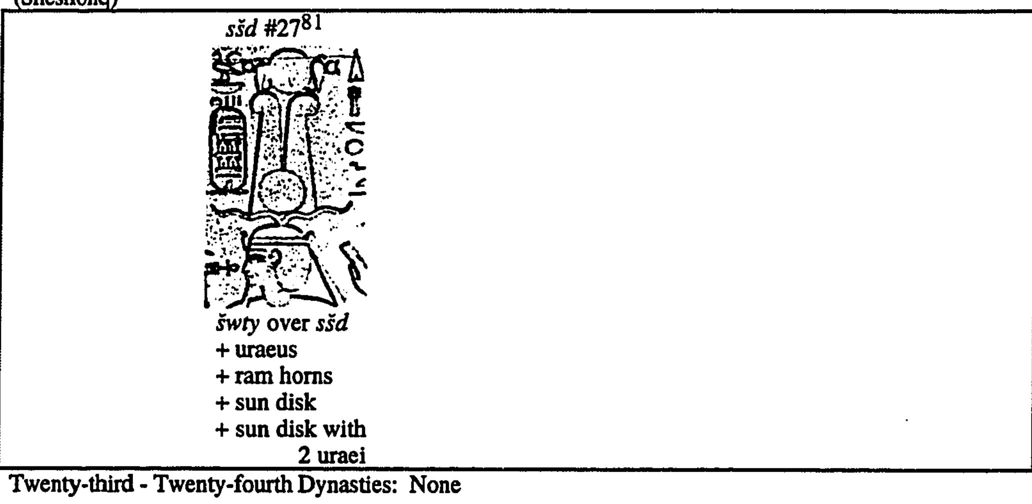
ḫ3t #11[80]



šwty ever *ḫ3t*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns

Twenty-first Dynasty: none
Twenty-second Dynasty:
(Sheshonq)

sšd #27[81]



šwty over *sšd*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ sun disk with
2 uraei

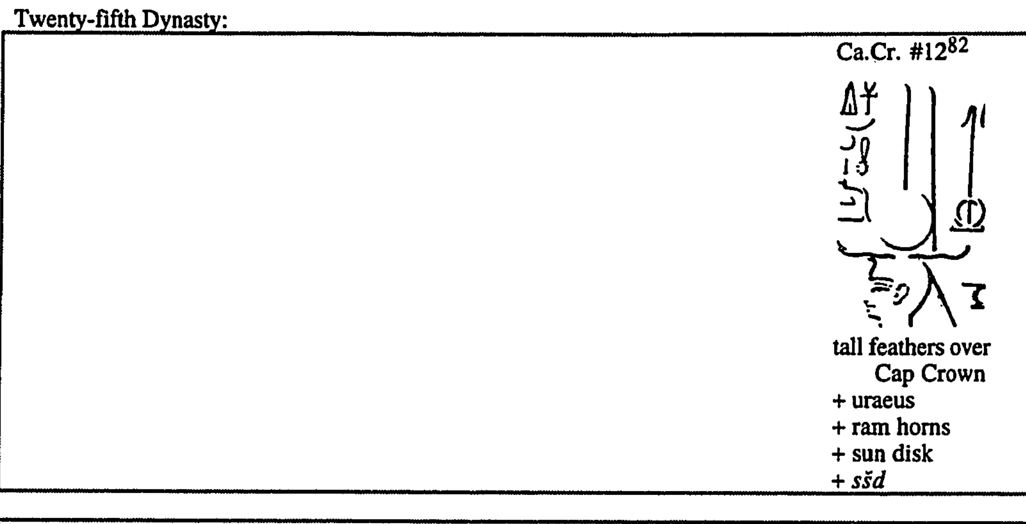
Twenty-third - Twenty-fourth Dynasties: None

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80 Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, v. 2, pl. 37.

81 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 255a.

Twenty-fifth Dynasty:



Ca.Cr. #12[82]

tall feathers over Cap Crown
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ *sšd*

Ku.Ca. #4[83]

4 tall feathers over Kushite cap
+ uraeus with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ ribbon

Twenty-sixth - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

The *sšd*

Type I. *sšd*	Type II. *sšd* with *3tf*	Type III. *sšd* with *šwty*	Type IV. *sšd* with other headdresses

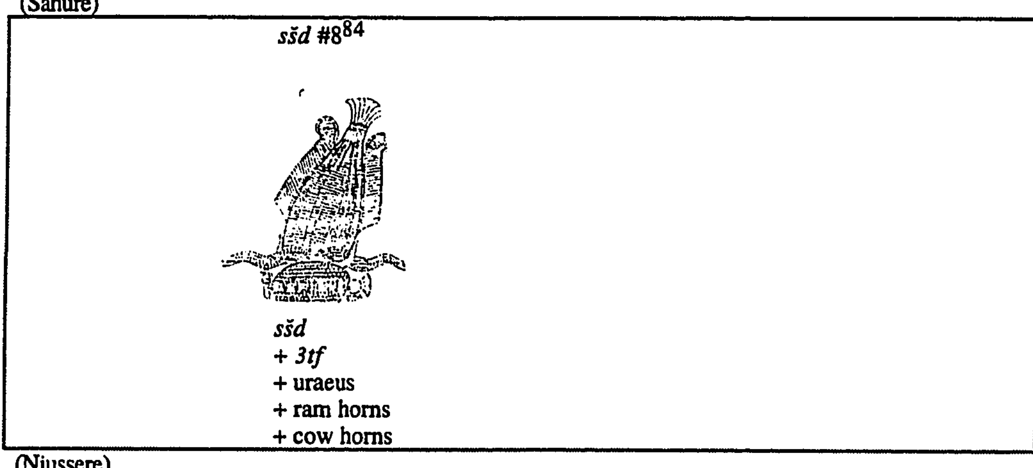
First - Fourth Dynasties: None

82 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 9.

83 *Ibid.*, pl. 5.



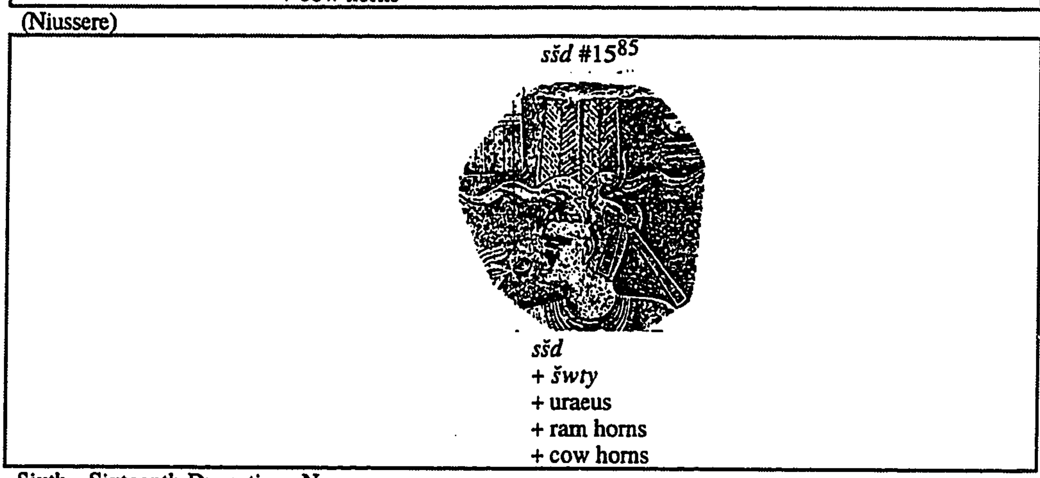
Fifth Dynasty:
(Sahure)



sšd #8[84]

sšd
+ *3tf*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns

(Niussere)



sšd #15[85]

sšd
+ *šwty*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns

Sixth - Sixteenth Dynasties: None

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84 Borchardt, *Sahure*, pl. 38.

85 Borchardt, *Ne-user-re*, pl. 16.

Seventeenth Dynasty:
(Intef Nubkheperre)

sšd #1[86]



sšd
+ uraeus

Eighteenth Dynasty:
(Amenhotep I)

sšd #2[87]



sšd with uraeus and *ḥḏt*
+ uraeus

sšd #3[88]



sšd
+ uraeus
+ uraeus with *ḥḏt*

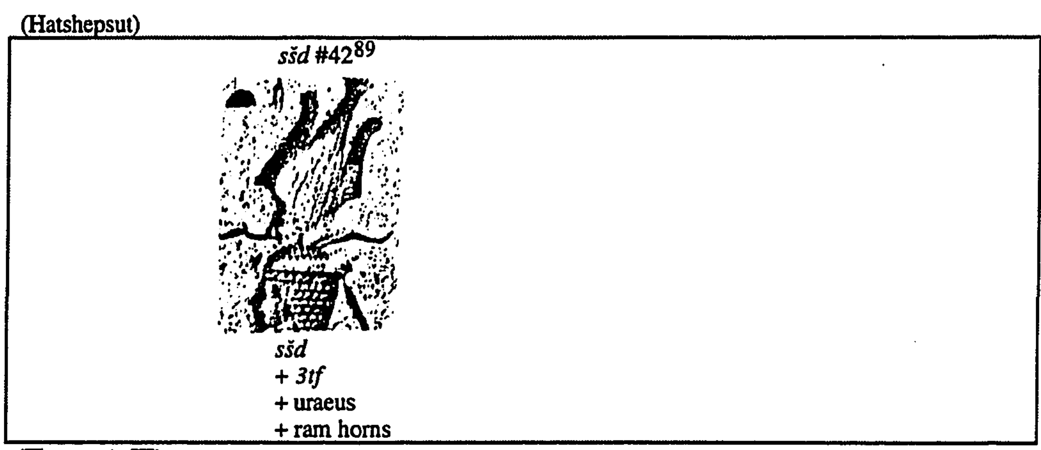
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86 Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 82.

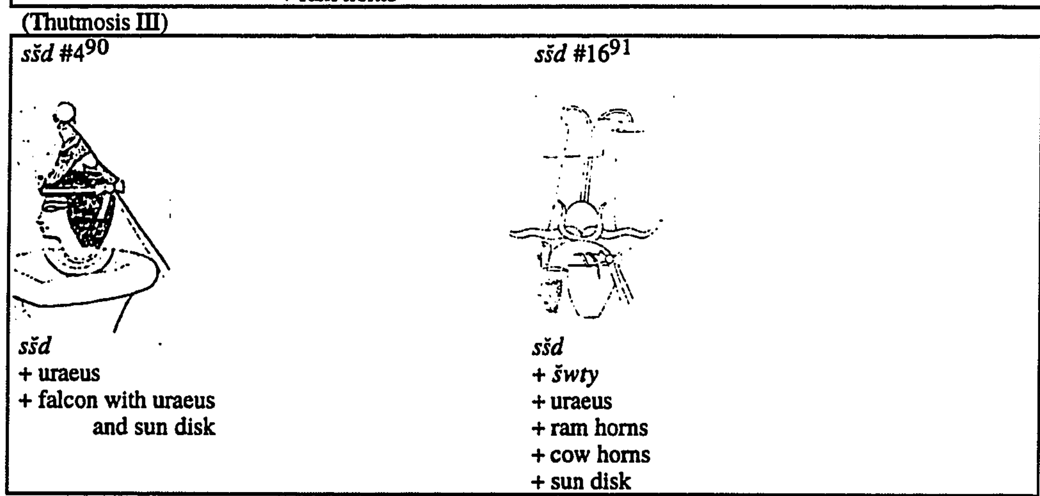
87 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 1.

88 *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

(Hatshepsut)



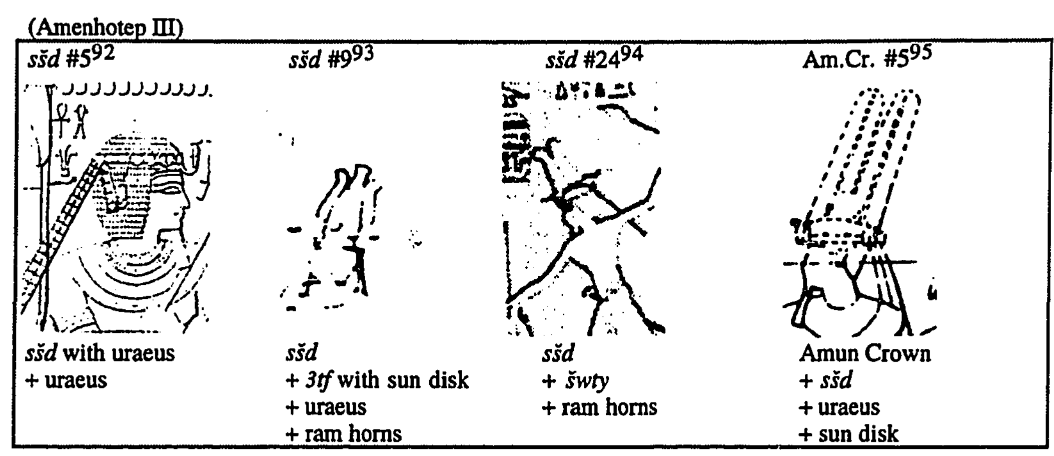
(Thutmosis III)

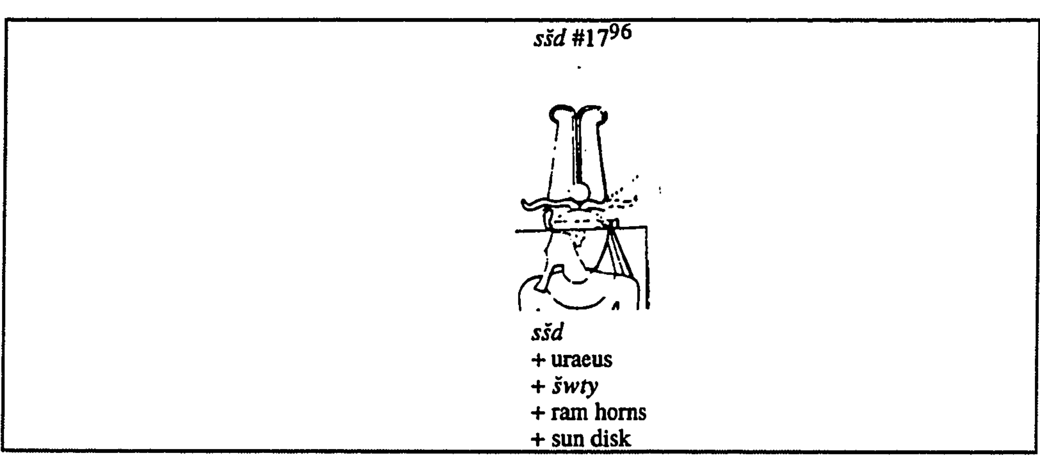


89 Mysliwiec, "Couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III," pl. 8.

90 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 33i.

91 *Ibid.*, pl. 58.





92 Lepsisu, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 76.

93 Brunner, *Sudlichen Räume*, pl. 19.

94 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 81g.

95 Brunner, *Sudlichen Räume*, pl. 19.

96 *Ibid.*

(Tutankhamun)

sšd #6[97]	*sšd* #28[98]
sšd + uraeus + vulture	*sšd* with uraeus and sun disk + *hmhm* with 6 sun disks + uraeus + 6 uraei with sun disks + uraei band with sun disks

Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Ramesses I)

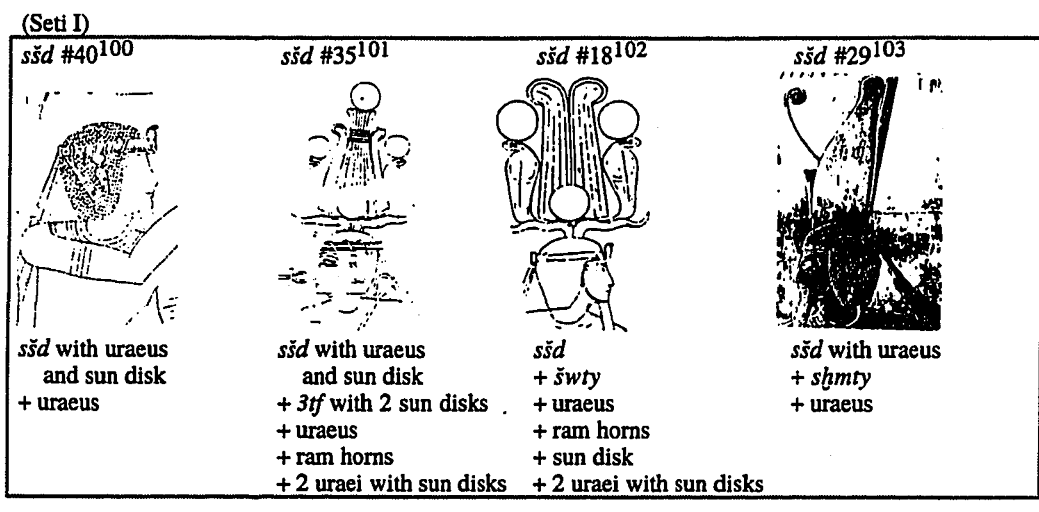
sšd #43[99]
sšd + *šwty* + uraeus + ram horns + cow horns + sun disk + 2 uraei with sun disks

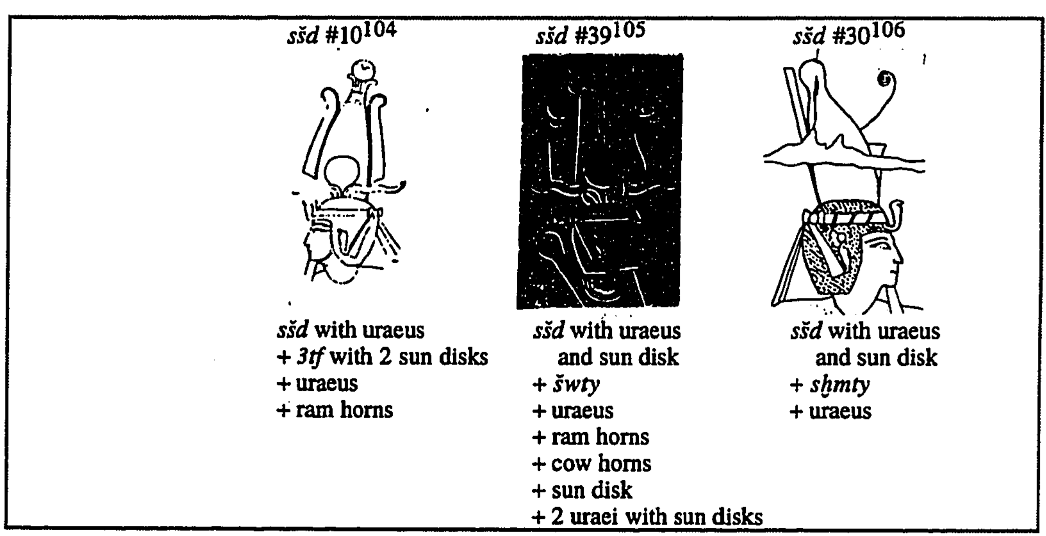
97 Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 123.

98 Edwards, *Treasures*, p. 24.

99 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 140.

(Seti I)





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100 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 2, pl. 3.

101 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 78.

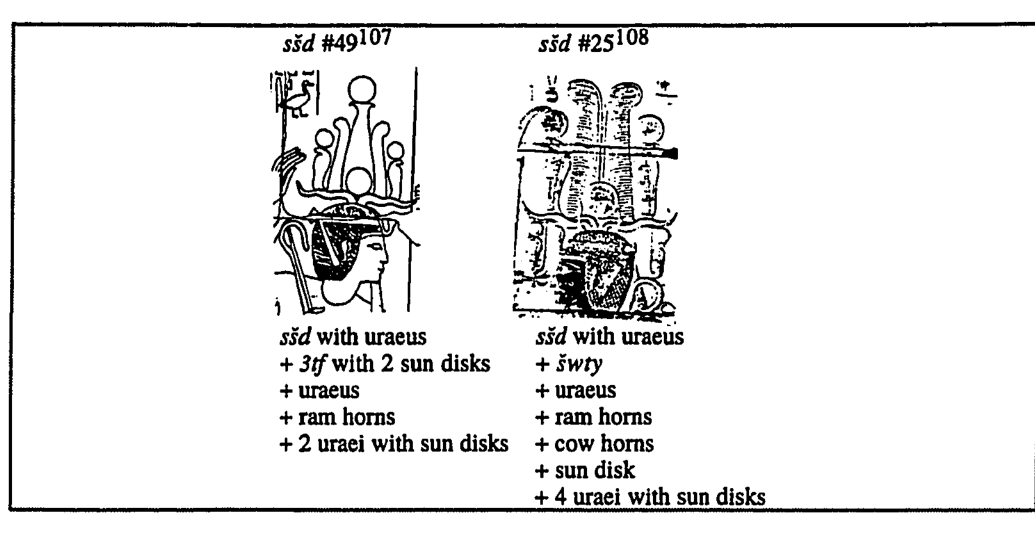
102 *Ibid.*, pl. 37.

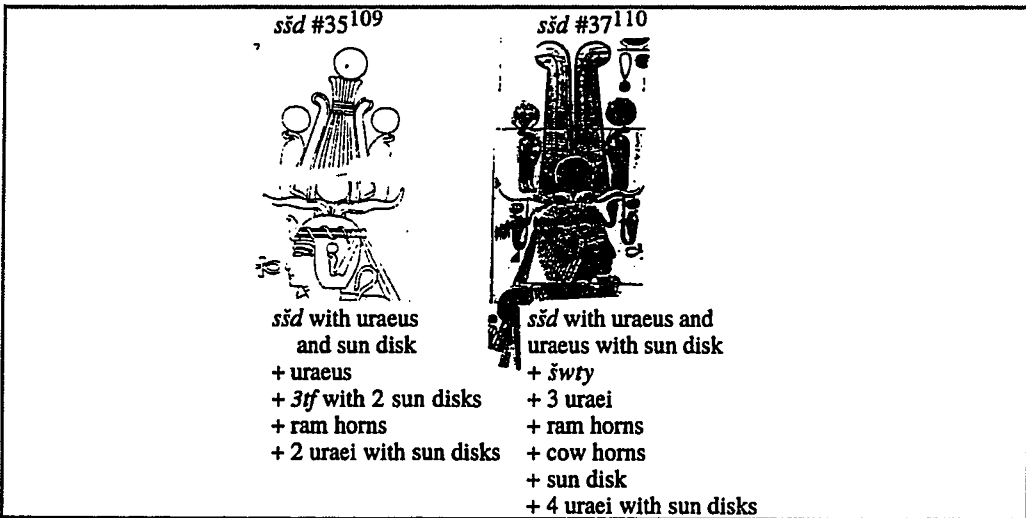
103 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 39.

104 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 72.

105 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 43.

106 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 172.



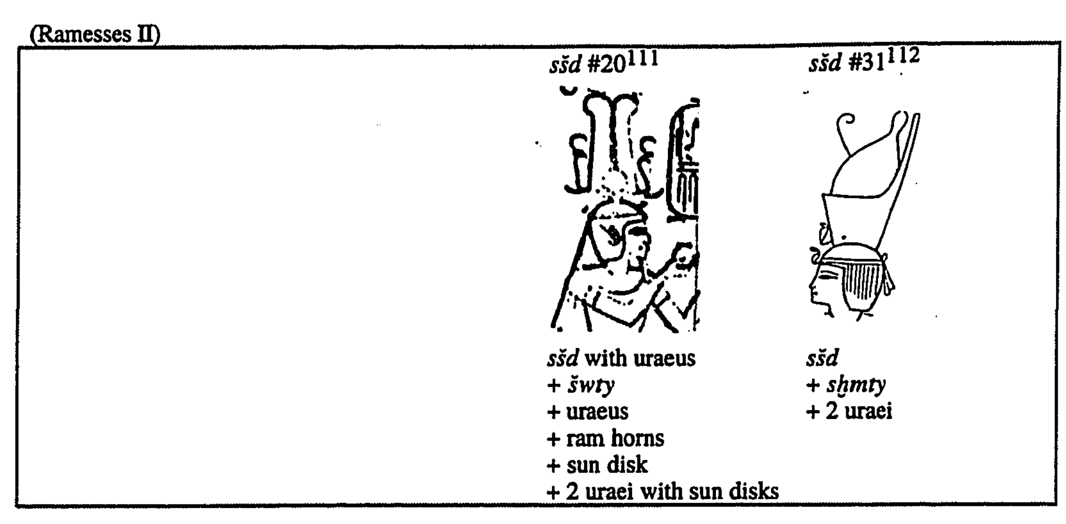


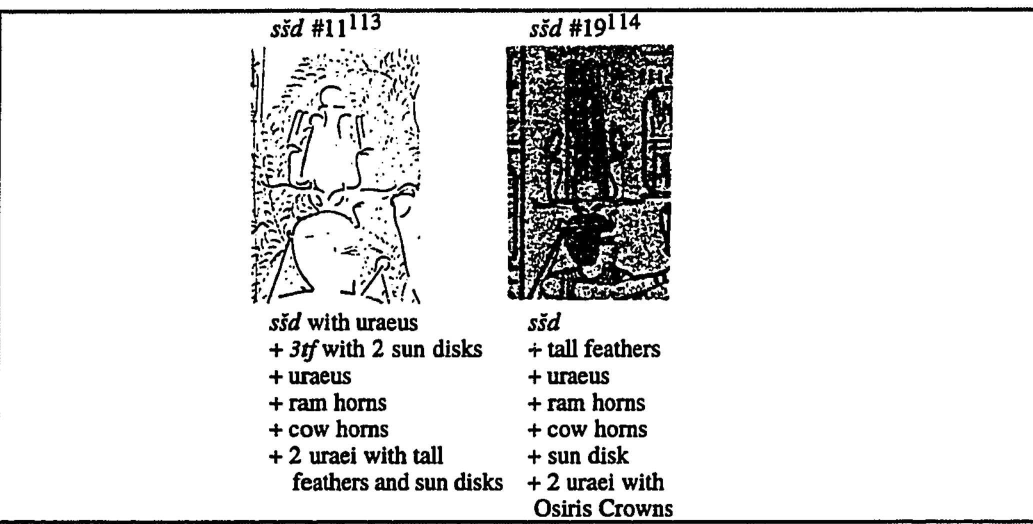
107 *Ibid.*, pl. 192.

108 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 19.

109 *Ibid.*, pl. 78.

110 *Ibid.*, pl. 22.





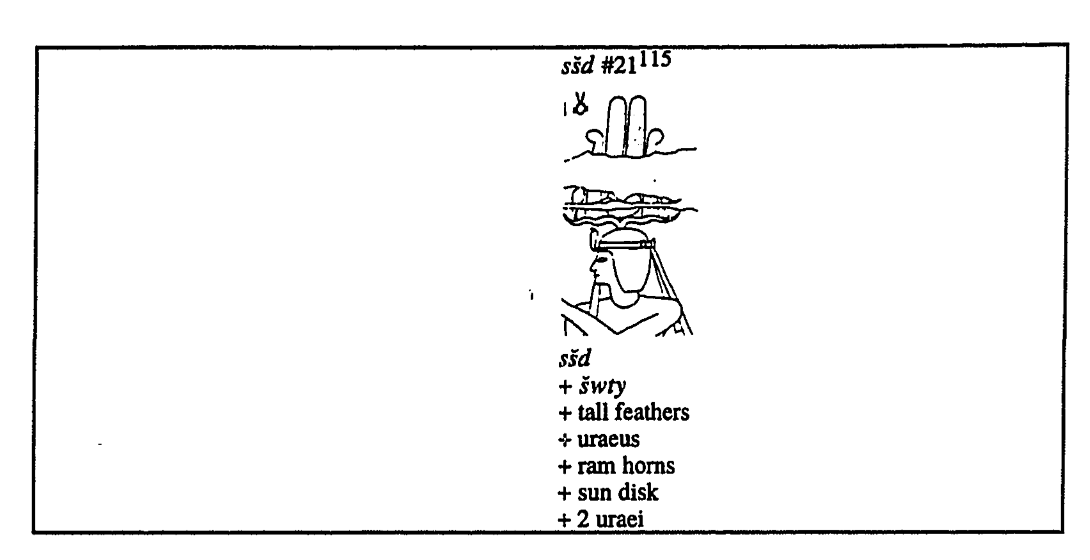
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111 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 195.

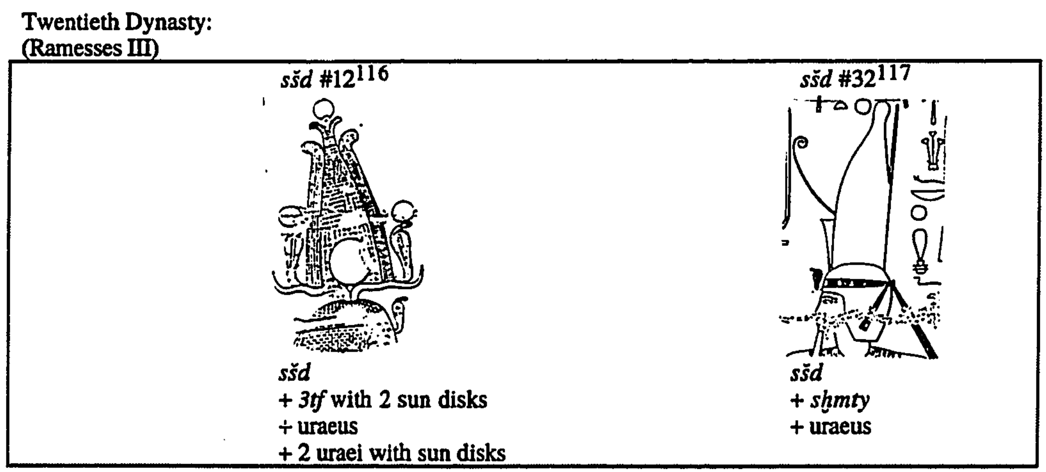
112 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 41.

113 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 169.

114 *Ibid.*, pl. 147.



Twentieth Dynasty:
(Ramesses III)

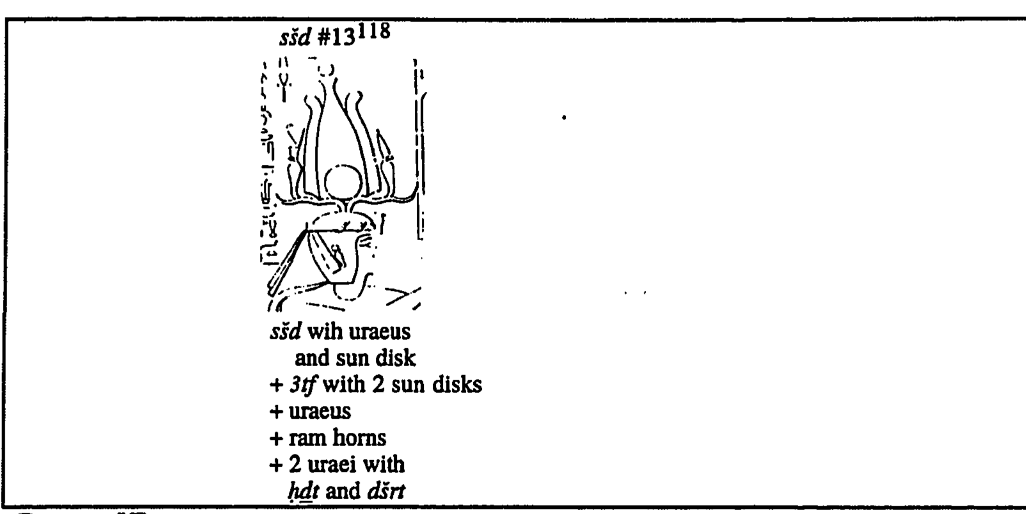


[115] Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 96.

[116] Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 5, pl. 291.

[117] *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 241.

sšd #13[118]



sšd wih uraeus
and sun disk
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with
ḥḏt and *dšrt*



(Ramesses VI)

sšd #41[119]



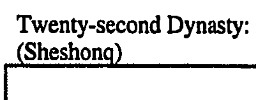
sšd with uraeus and *ḥdt*
+ uraeus

Twenty-first Dynasty: None

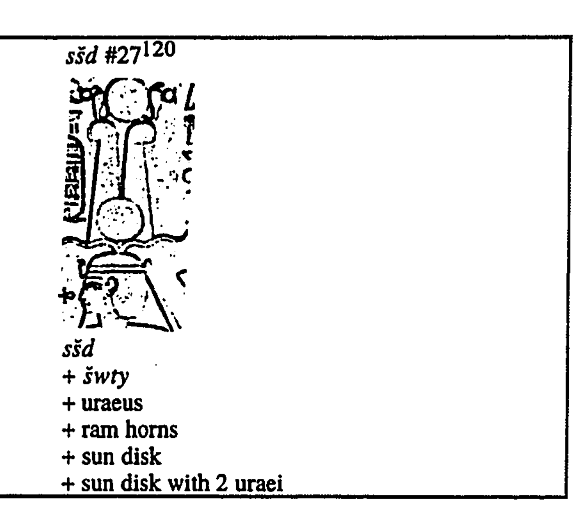
118 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 317.

119 A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1955), pl. 34.

Twenty-second Dynasty:
(Sheshonq)



sšd #27[120]



sšd
+ *šwty*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ sun disk with 2 uraei

Twenty-third - Twenty-fourth Dynasties: None

Twenty-fifth Dynasty:

sšd #44[121]

sšd
+ Amun Crown
+ double *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

Twenty-sixth - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

120 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 255a.

121 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 41.

Chapter Four - Chart of Development

The *nms*

Type I. *nms*	Type II. *nms* with *3tf*	Type III. *nms* with *šwty*	Type IV. *nms* with *sḫmty*

First - Second Dynasties: None
Third Dynasty:
(Djoser)

nms #1[1]

nms prototype

Fourth Dynasty:
(Khafre)

nms #2[2]

nms

1 Aldred, *Egypt...End...Old Kingdom*, pl. 61.

2 Aldred, *Art...Old Kingdom*, pl. 27.

nms #3[3]



nms
+ uraeus

Fifth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None
Eighteenth Dynasty:
(Amenhotep I)

nms #48[4]



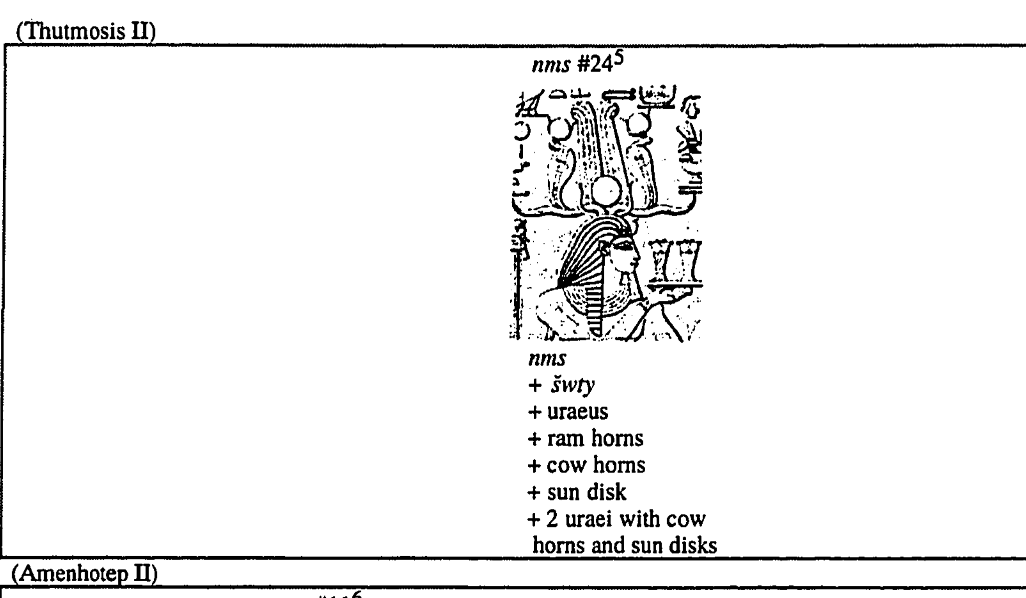
nms
+ *3tf* with sun disk
+ ram horns
+ 4 uraei
+ uraeus with cow horns
and sun disk

3 *Ibid.*, pl. 16.

4 Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, v. 2, fig. 24.

(Thutmosis II)

nms #24[5]



nms
+ *šwty*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with cow horns and sun disks

(Amenhotep II)

nms #11[6]

nms
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 2 uraei with cow horns and sun disks
+ falcon with sun disk
+ Amun horns

5 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 21.

6 Davies, *Kenamun at Thebes*, pl. 11.

(Thutmosis IV)

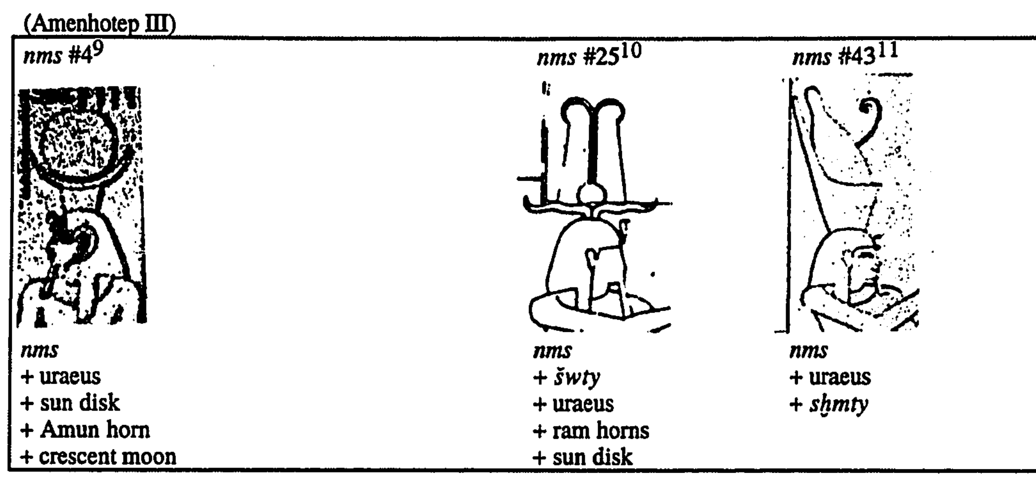
nms #12[7]
nms + *3tf* with sun disk + uraeus + ram horns + 2 uraei with sun disk

nms #13[8]
nms + *hmhm* with 3 sun disks + uraeus + ram horns + 2 uraei with sun disk

7 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 78b.

8 Brack, *Grab des Haremheb*, pl. 86.

(Amenhotep III)



nms #4[9]	*nms* #25[10]	*nms* #43[11]
nms	*nms*	*nms*
+ uraeus	+ *šwty*	+ uraeus
+ sun disk	+ uraeus	+ *sḫmty*
+ Amun horn	+ ram horns	
+ crescent moon	+ sun disk	

nms #26[12]

nms
+ *šwty*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ sun disk

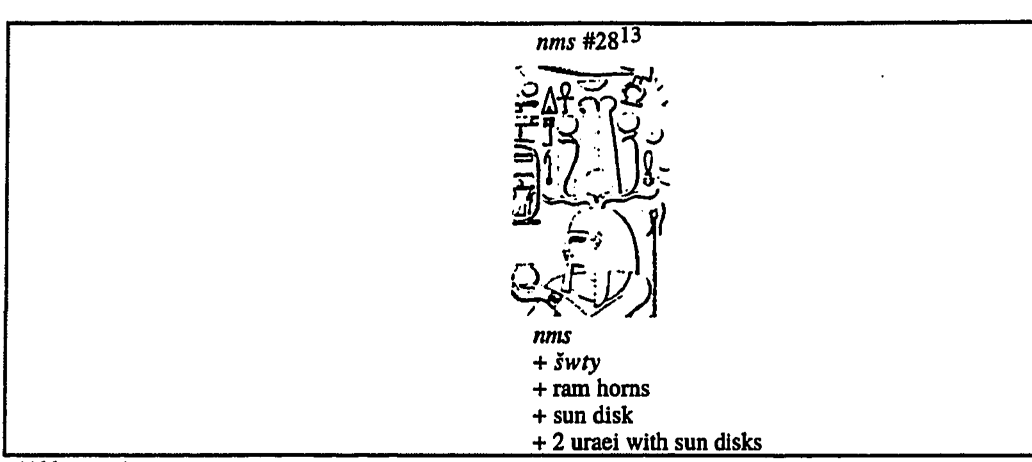
9 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 87.

10 Brunner, *Sudlichen Räume*, pl. 18.

11 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 71.

12 Brunner, *Sudlichen Räume*, pl. 20.

nms #28[13]



nms
+ *šwty*
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

(Akhenaten)

nms #55[14]	*nms* #5[15]
hmhm with 3 sun disks over *nms* + ram horns + cow horns + 4 uraei with sun disks + 2 uraei with Amun Crowns and sun disks + uraei band with sun disks + 3 falcons with sun disks + 2 cartouche pairs	*nms* + 4 tall feathers + uraeus

13 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 80c.

14 *Ibid.*, pl. 91.

15 Abd-ur-Rahman, "Four-feathered Crown," pl. 1.



(Tutankhamun)

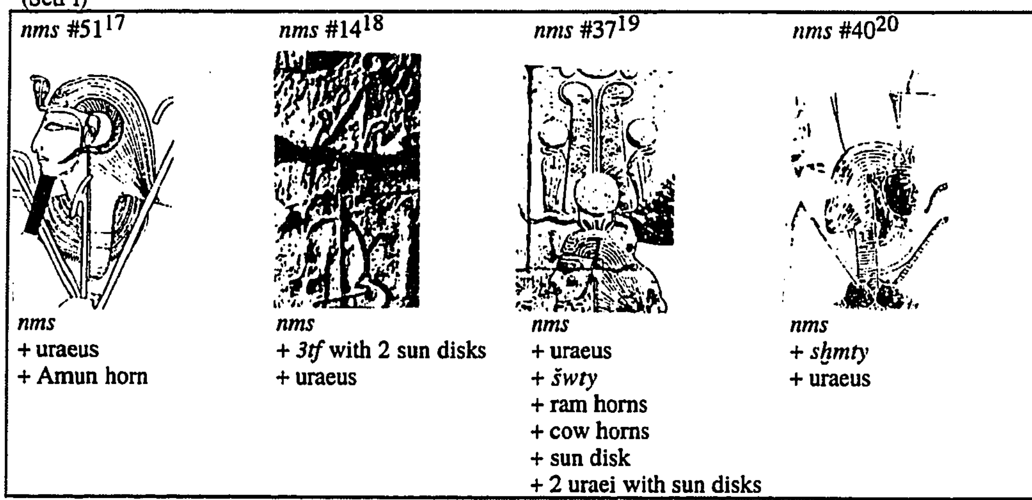
nms #6[16]

nms + uraeus + vulture

Nineteenth Dynasty:



(Seti I)



nms #51[17]	*nms* #14[18]	*nms* #37[19]	*nms* #40[20]
nms + uraeus + Amun horn	*nms* + *3tf* with 2 sun disks + uraeus	*nms* + uraeus + *šwty* + ram horns + cow horns + sun disk + 2 uraei with sun disks	*nms* + *sẖmty* + uraeus

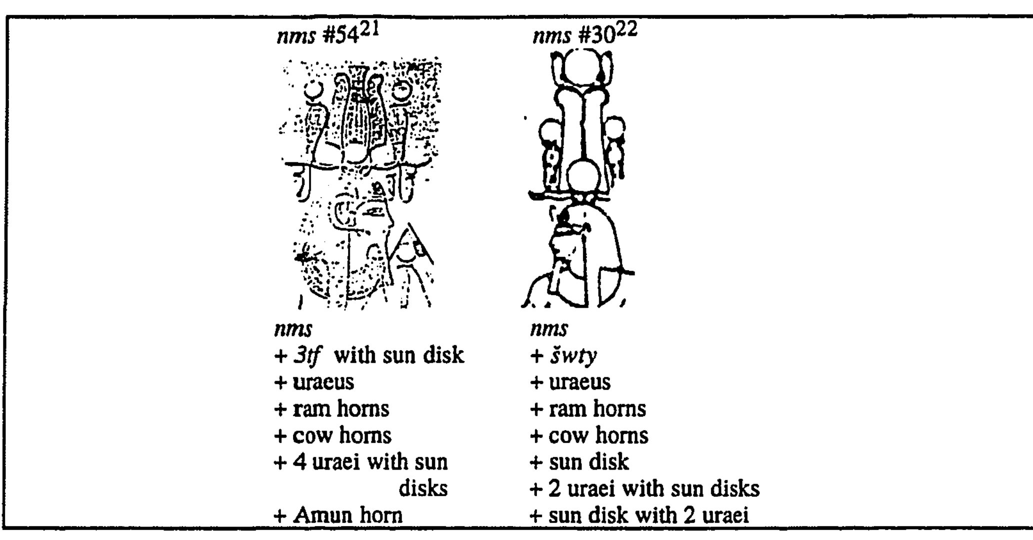
[16] Carter, *Tutankhanun*, v. 2, pl. 70.

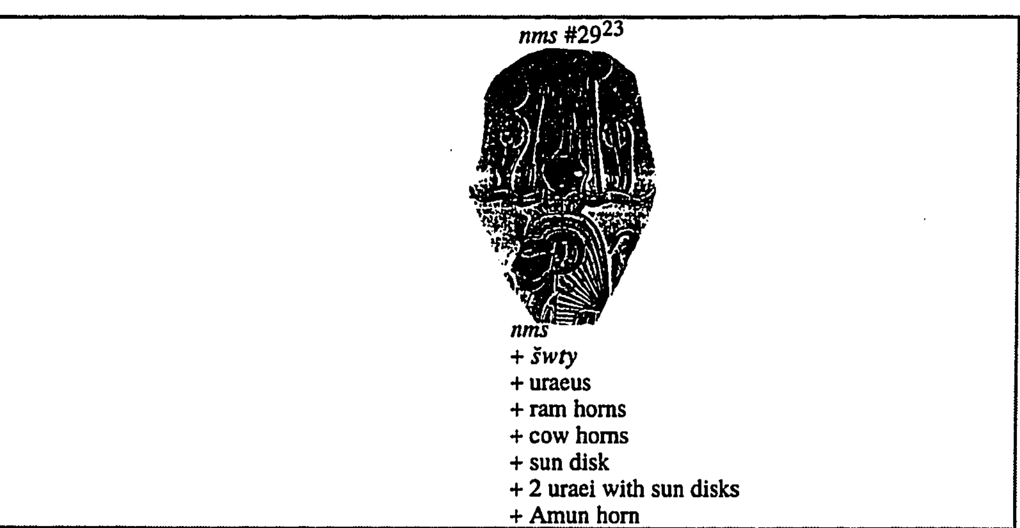
[17] Caulfield, *Kings at Abydos*, pl. 16, fig. 2.

[18] Osing, *Tempel Sethos I.*, pl. 18.

[19] Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 4, pl. 44.

[20] *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 37.



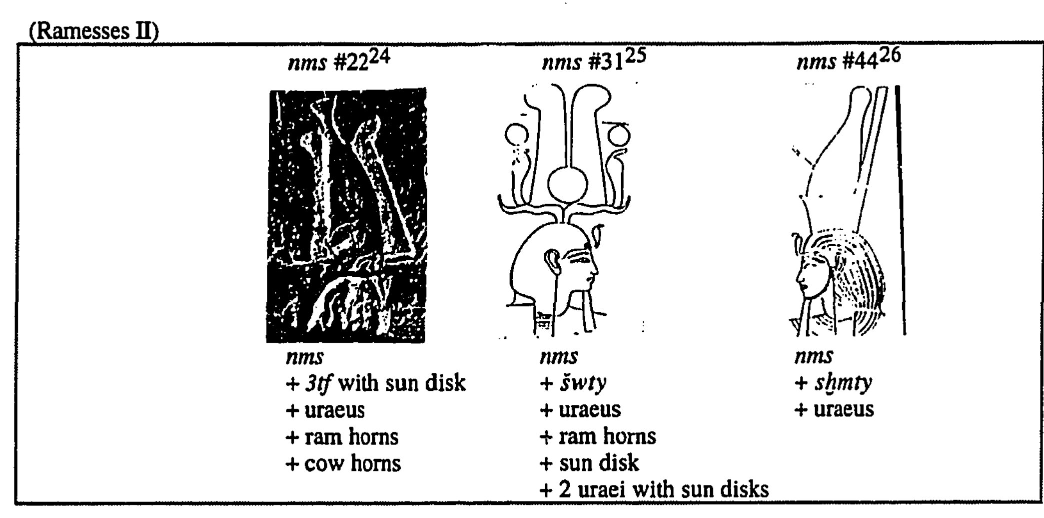


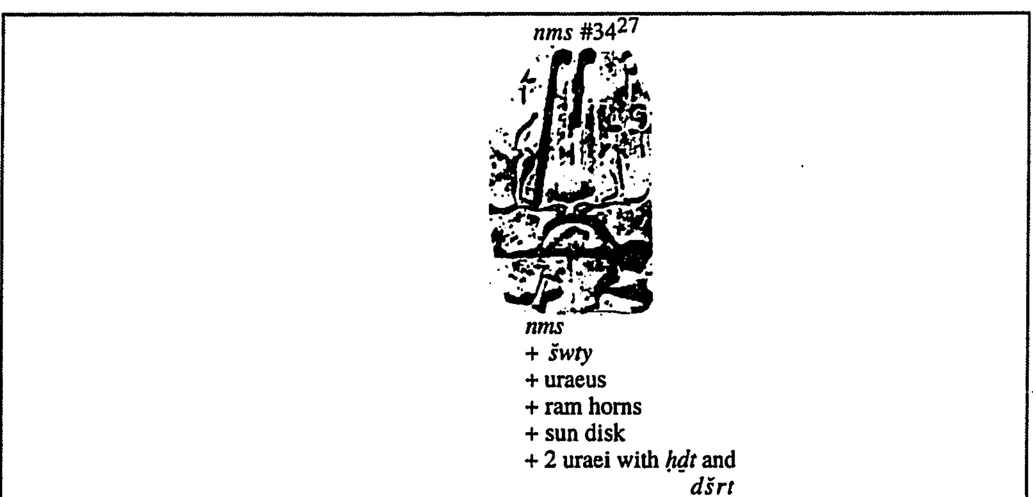
21 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 132n.

22 David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 45.

23 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 40.

(Ramesses II)



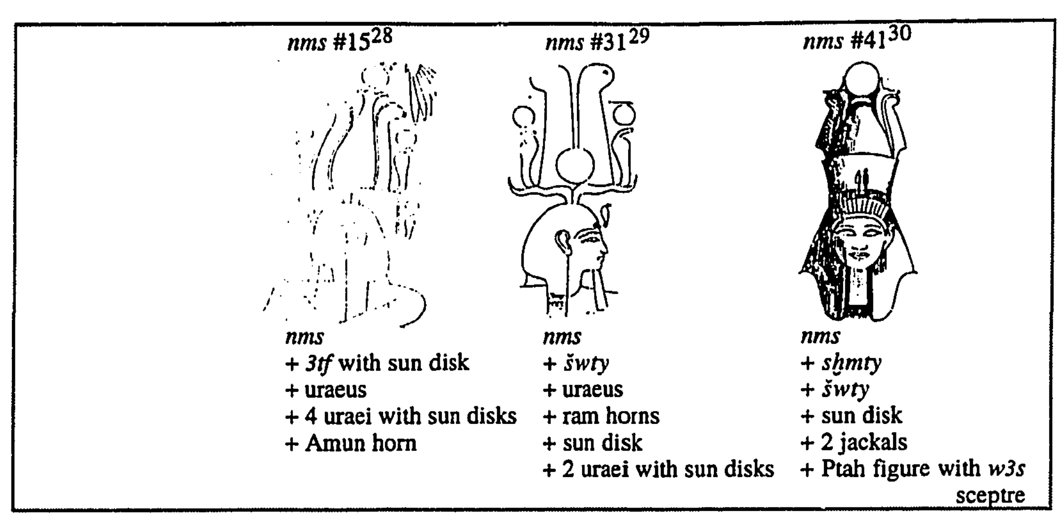


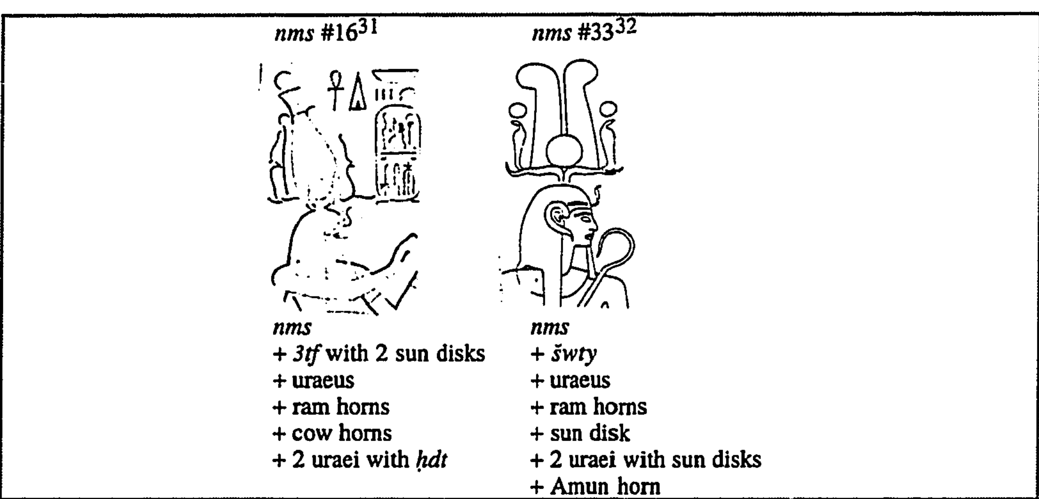
24 Osing, *Tempel Sethos I.* pl. 6.

25 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 40.

26 Osing, *Tempel Sethos I.*, pl. 80.

27 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 81.





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28 *Ibid.* pl. 56.

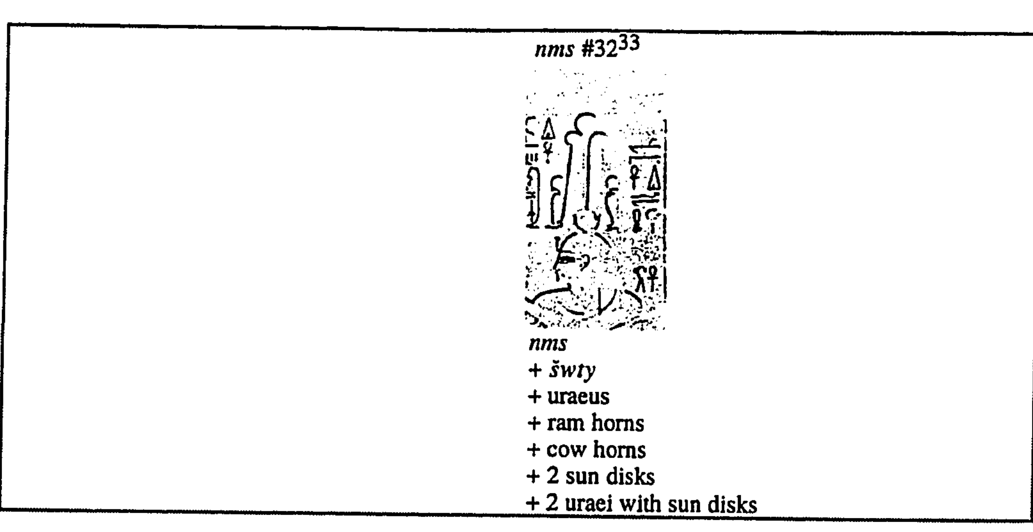
29 *Ibid.*, pl. 40.

30 Habachi, *Deification*, fig. 24.

31 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 147.

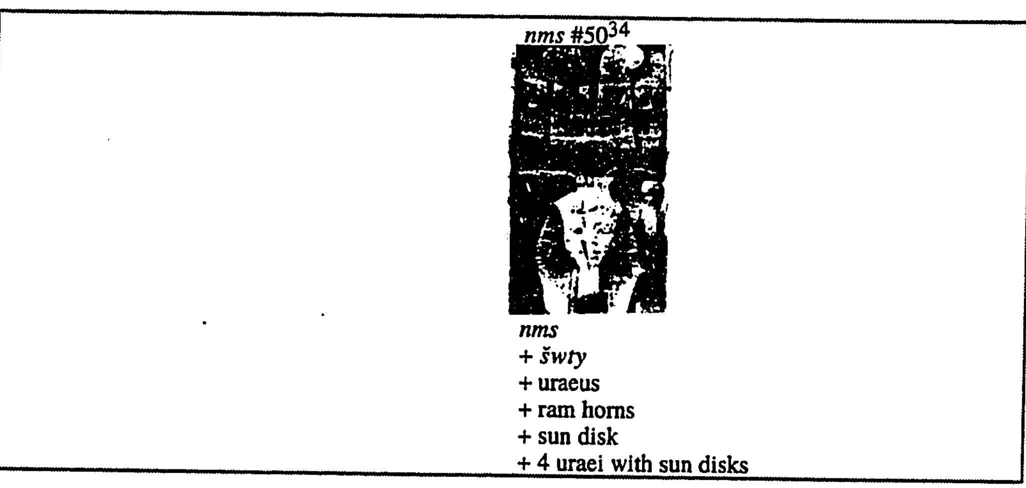
32 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 122.

nms #32[33]



nms
+ *šwty*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 2 sun disks
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

nms #50[34]

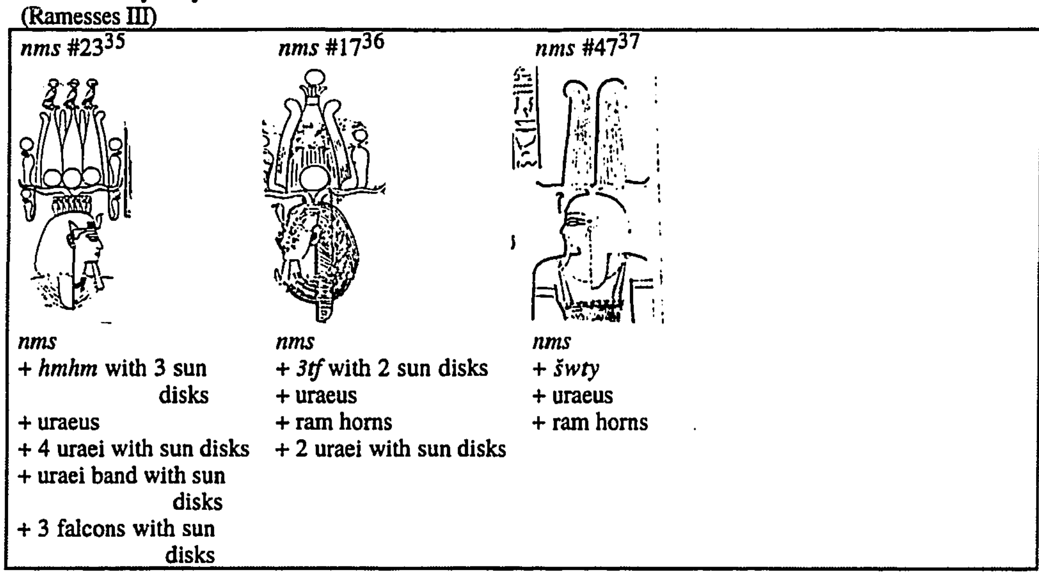


nms
+ *šwty*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 4 uraei with sun disks

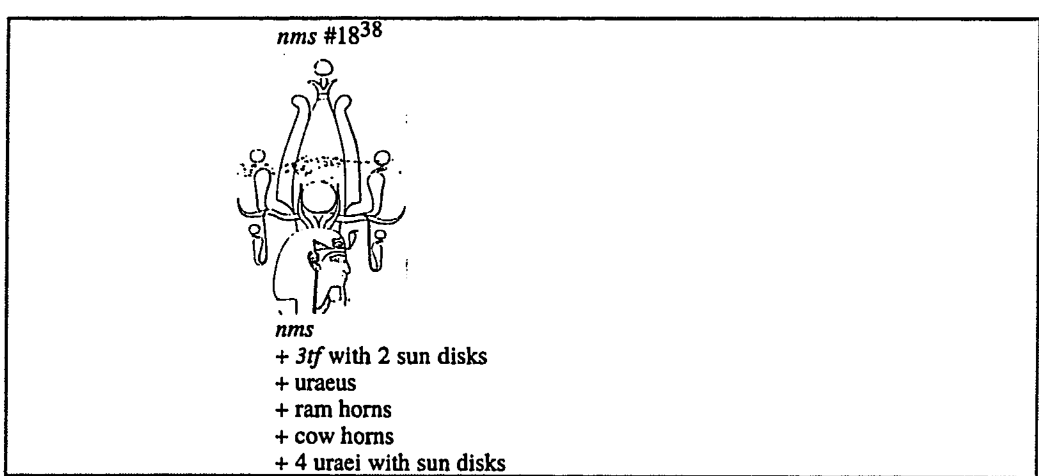
33 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 179.

34 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Abou Simbel*, v. 2, pl. 20.

Twentieth Dynasty:
(Ramesses III)



nms #23[35]	*nms* #17[36]	*nms* #47[37]
nms + *hmhm* with 3 sun disks + uraeus + 4 uraei with sun disks + uraei band with sun disks + 3 falcons with sun disks	*nms* + *3tf* with 2 sun disks + uraeus + ram horns + 2 uraei with sun disks	*nms* + *šwty* + uraeus + ram horns



nms #18[38]

nms
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 4 uraei with sun disks

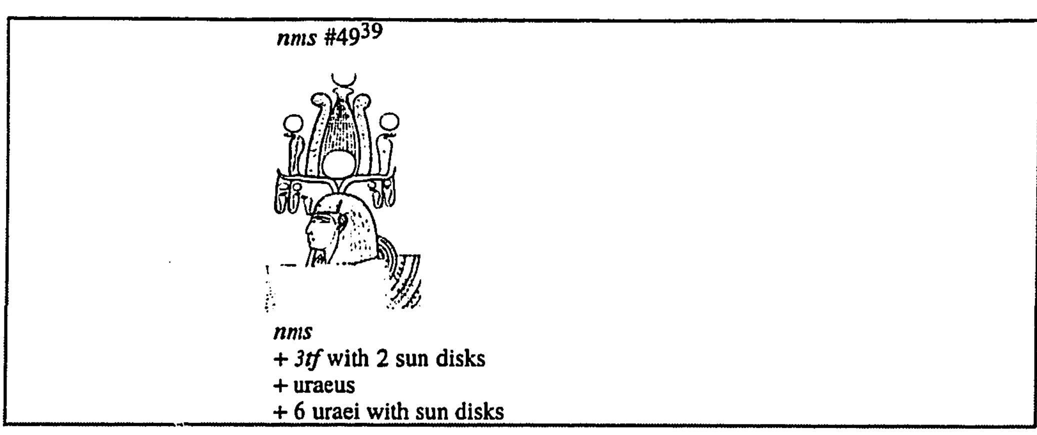
35 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 4, pl. 238.

36 *Ibid.*, v. 6, pl. 447.

37 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 224.

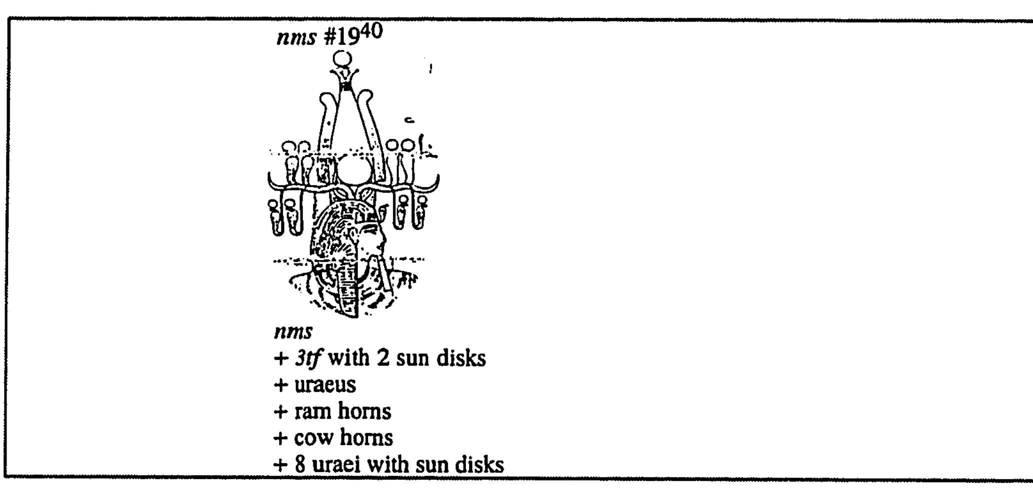
38 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 5, pl. 316.

nms #49[39]



nms
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ 6 uraei with sun disks

nms #19[40]

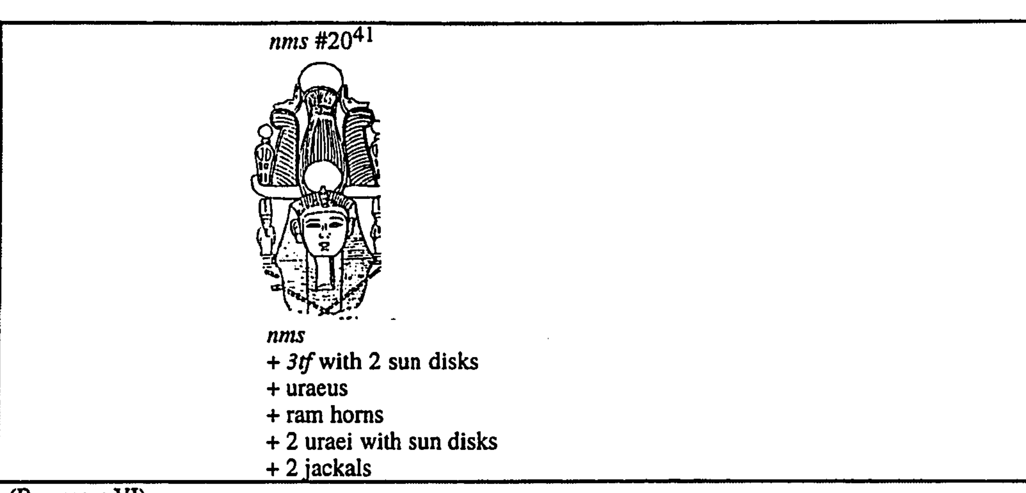


nms
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 8 uraei with sun disks

39 *Ibid.*, pl. 335.

40 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 4, pl. 235.

nms #20[41]



nms
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ 2 jackals

(Ramesses VI)

nms #10[42]

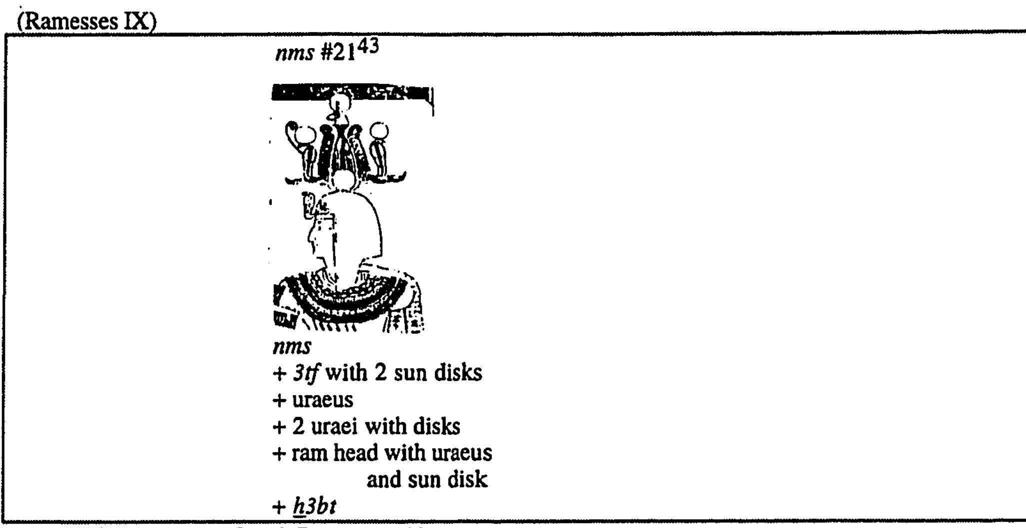


nms
+ uraeus
+ ribbon

41 Habachi, *Deification*, fig. 25.

42 Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, v. 2, pl. 140b.

(Ramesses IX)

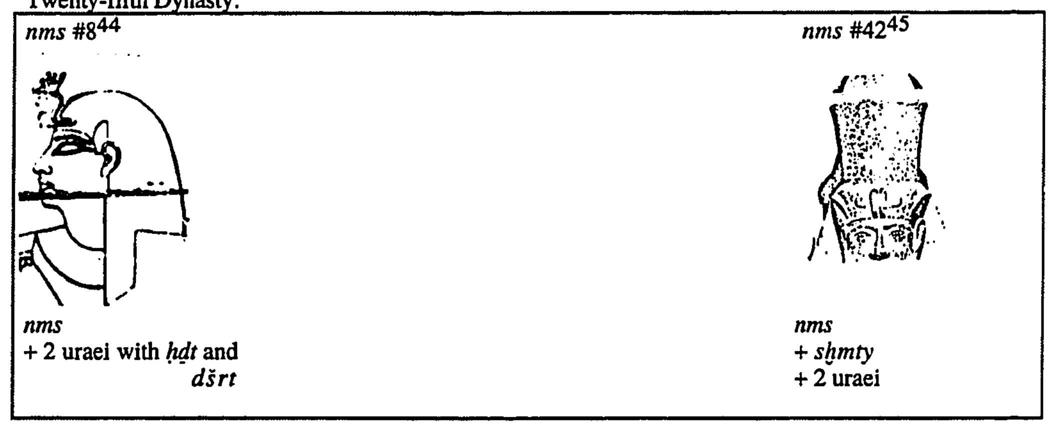


nms #21[43]

nms
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ 2 uraei with disks
+ ram head with uraeus and sun disk
+ *ḫ3bt*

Twenty-first - Twenty-fourth Dynasties: None

Twenty-fifth Dynasty:



nms #8[44]	*nms* #42[45]
nms + 2 uraei with *ḥdt* and *dšrt*	*nms* + *sḫmty* + 2 uraei

Twenty-sixth - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

The *ḫ3t*

Type I. *ḫ3t*	Type II. *ḫ3t* with other headdresses

First - Third Dynasties: None

43 Guilmant, *Ramses IX*, pl. 76.

44 R.A. Parker et al., *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979), pl. 18a.

45 Russman, *Representations*, fig. 4.

Fourth Dynasty:
(Khufu)

ḫ3t #1[46]

ḫ3t prototype
+ falcon

Fifth Dynasty:
(Niuserre)

ḫ3t #2[47]

ḫ3t prototype
+ uraeus

Sixth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None
Eighteenth Dynasty:
(Amenhotep II)

ḫ3t #3[48]



ḫ3t
+ uraeus

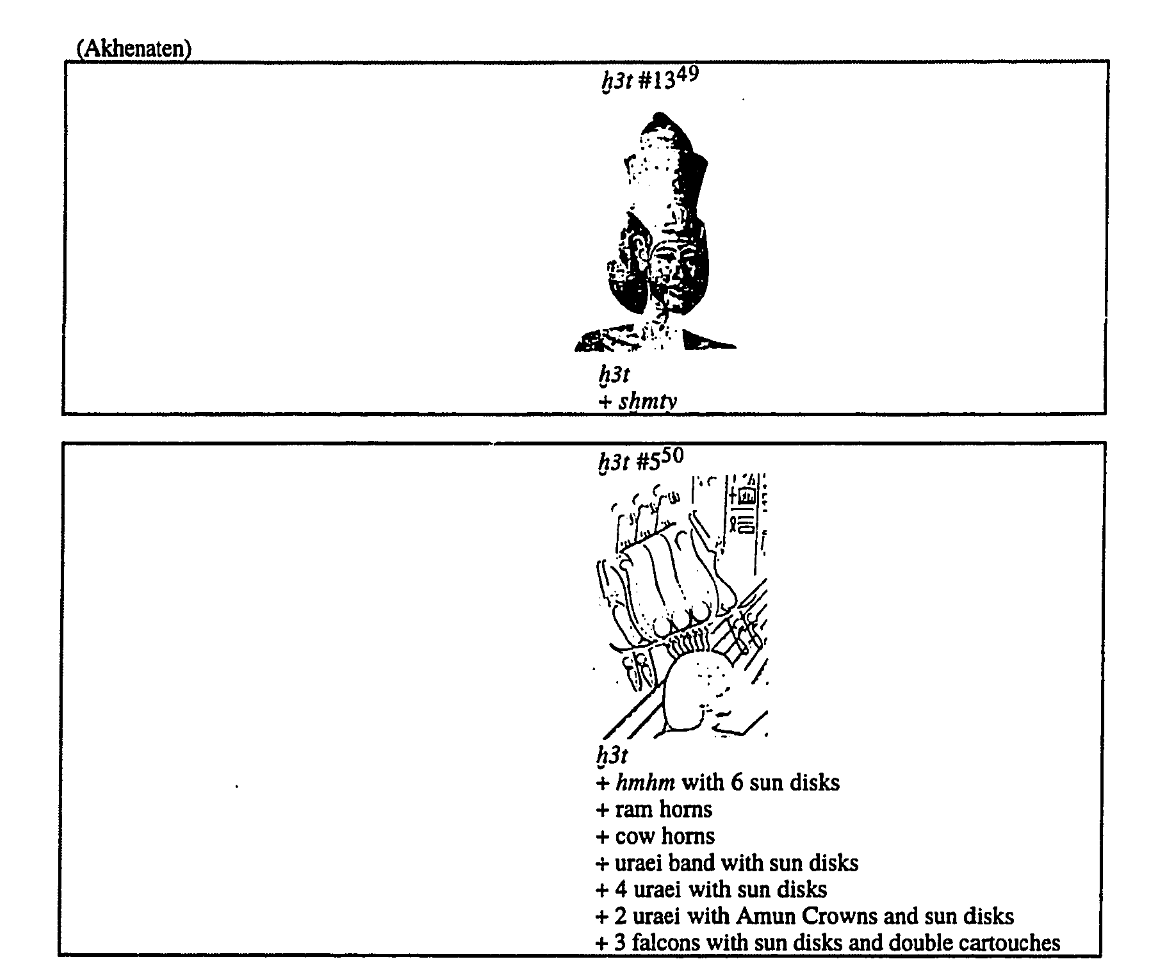
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46 Lauer, "Temple funéraire de Khéops," pl. 2.

47 Von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum*, fig. 425.

48 Terrace and Fischer, *Treasures of Egyptian Art*, pl. 23.

(Akhenaten)



ḫ3t #13[49]

ḫ3t
+ *sḫmty*

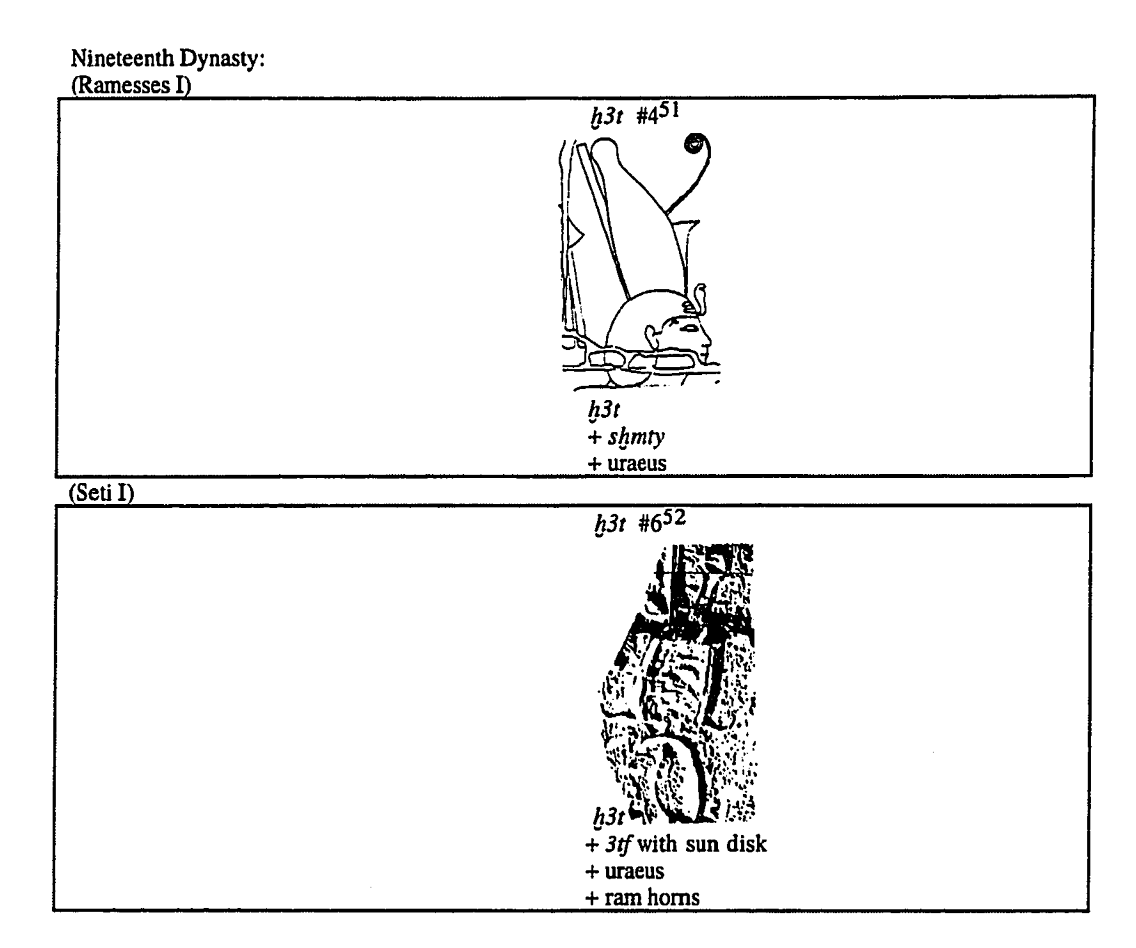
ḫ3t #5[50]

ḫ3t
+ *hmhm* with 6 sun disks
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ uraei band with sun disks
+ 4 uraei with sun disks
+ 2 uraei with Amun Crowns and sun disks
+ 3 falcons with sun disks and double cartouches

49 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, fig. 10.

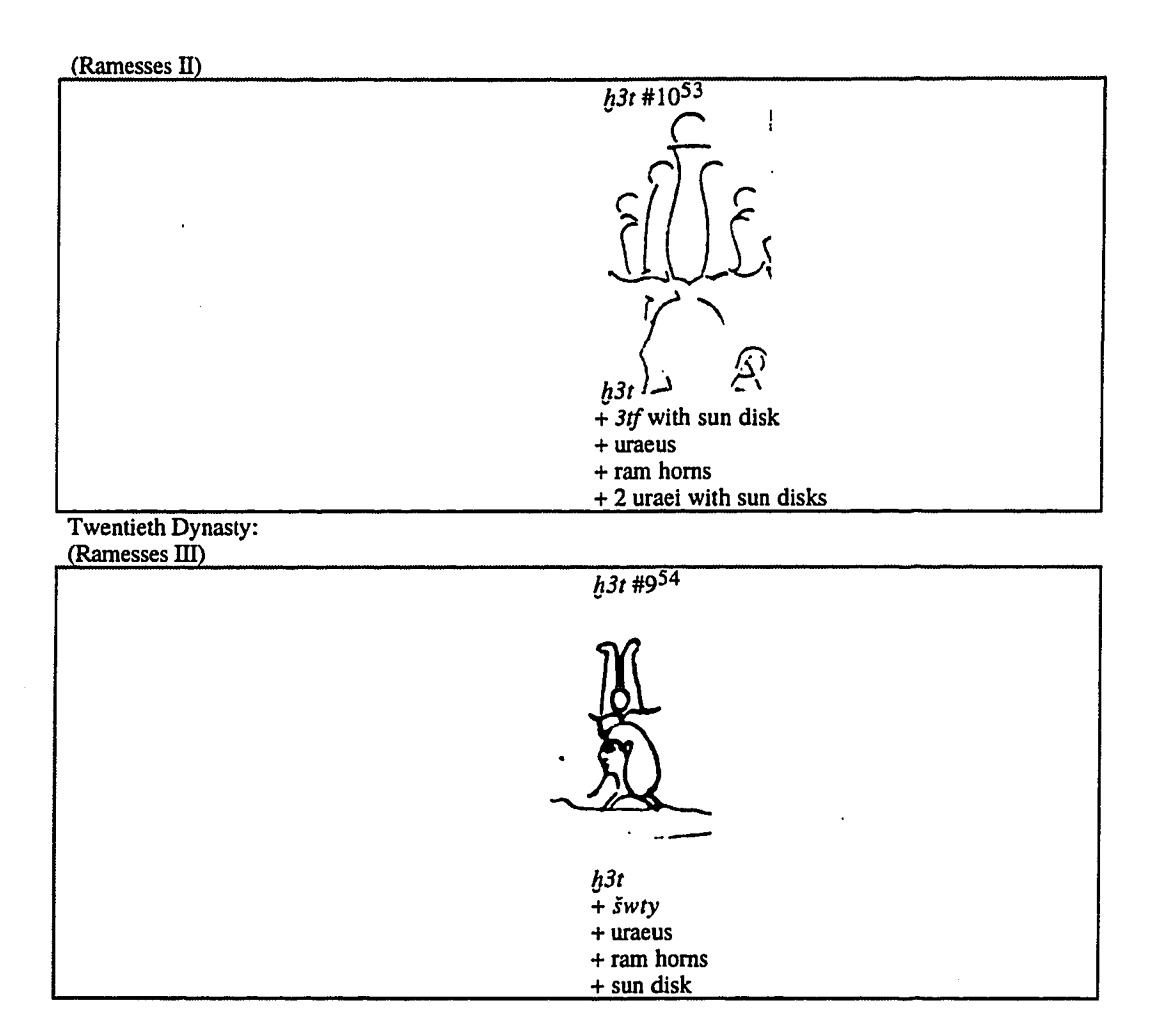
50 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 91.

Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Ramesses I)



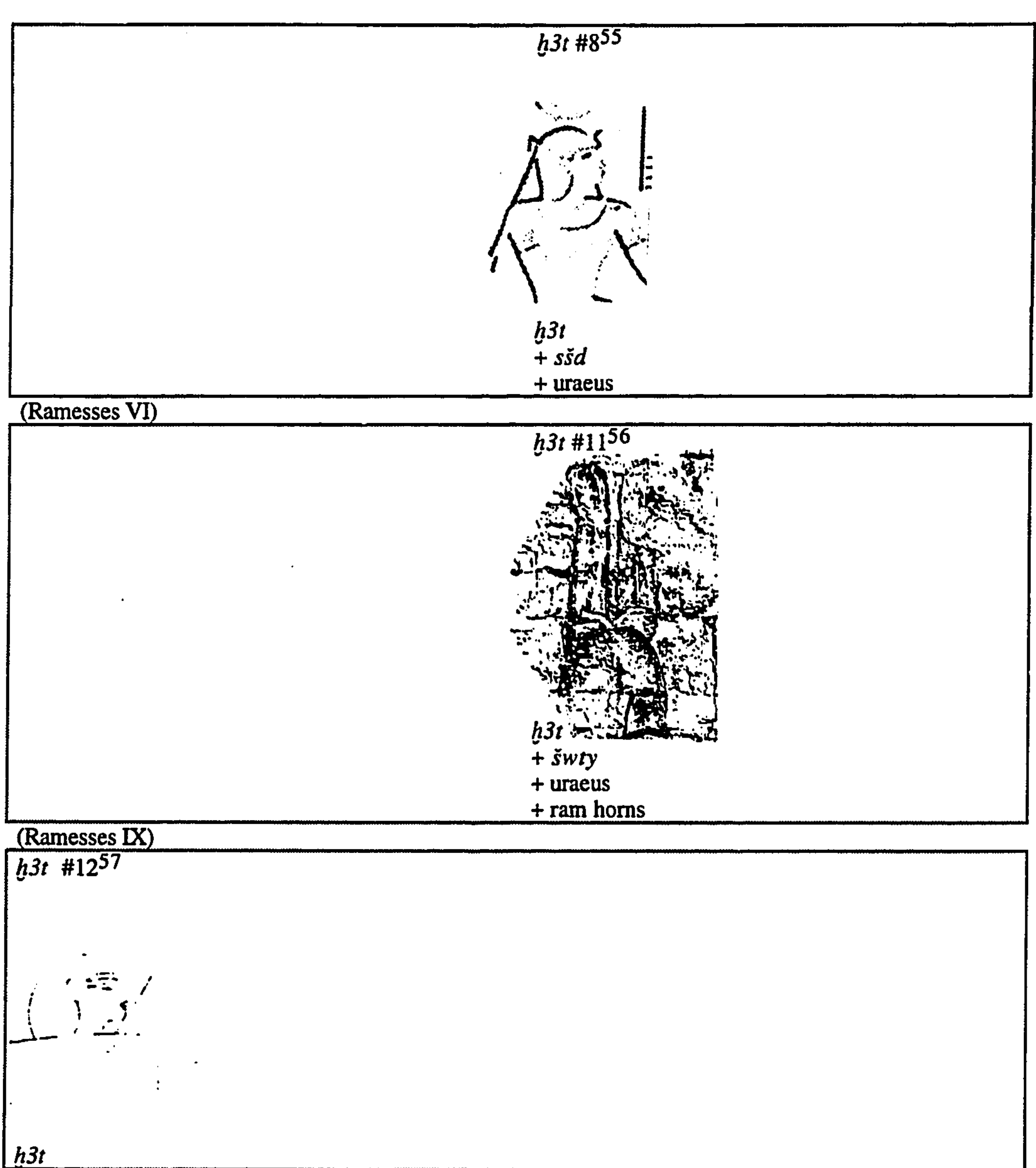
[51] Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 140.

[52] Osing, *Tempel Sethos I*, pl. 21.



53 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 150.

54 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 1, pl. 73.



Twenty-first - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

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55 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 191.

56 Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, v. 2, pl. 37.

57 Guilmant, *Ramses IX*, pl. 73.

Chapter Five - Chart of Development

The Amun Crown

Type I. Amun Crown	Type II. Amun Crown base

First - Tenth Dynasties: None
Eleventh Dynasty:
(Nebhepetre Mentuhotep)

Am.Cr. #1

Amun Crown

Am.Cr. #2[1]

Amun Crown
+ uraeus

Twelfth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None

1 Habachi, "Nebhepetre Menthuhotp," p. 42.

Eighteenth Dynsty:
(Tuthmosis I)

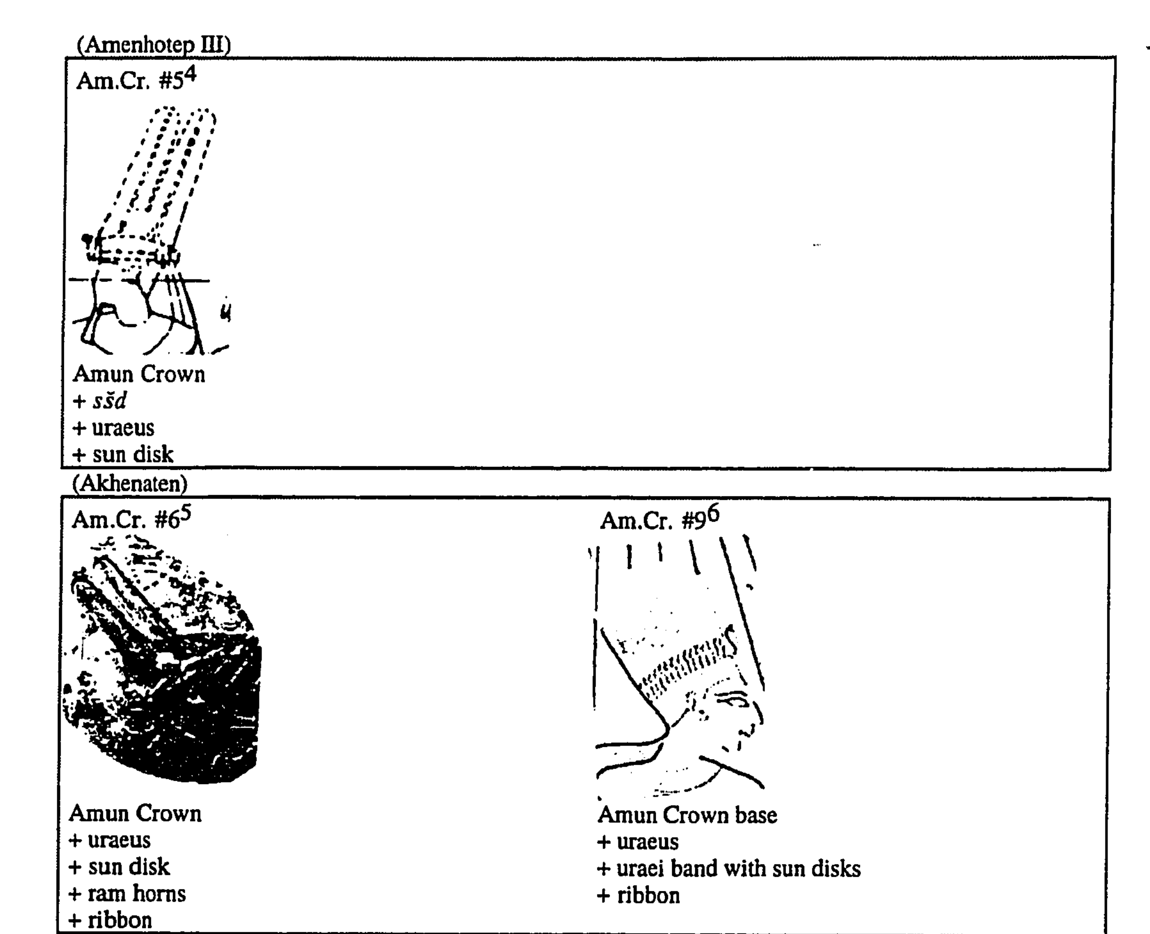
	Am.Cr. #3[2] Amun Crown base + *3tf* with 2 sun disks + uraeus + ram horns

(Hatshepsut)

Am.Cr. #15[3] Amun Crown + ram horns

2 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 23.

3 *Ibid.*



4 Brunner, *Sudlichen Räume*, pl. 19.

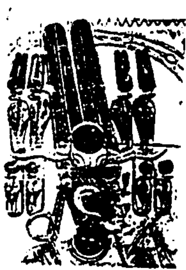
5 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 53.

6 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 107.

(Tutankhamun)

	Am.Cr. #10[7]  Amun Crown base + uraeus

Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Seti I)

Am.Cr. #7[8]  Amun Crown + *sšd* + uraeus + sun disk + ram horns + cow horns + 4 uraei with sun disks + 4 uraei with Amun Crowns and sun disks + Amun horn

7 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, pl. 42.

8 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Setho I*, v. 3, pl. 35.

(Ramesses II)

Am.Cr. #14[9]



Amun Crown
+ sun disk
+ ribbon

Twentieth - Twenty-fourth Dynasties: None

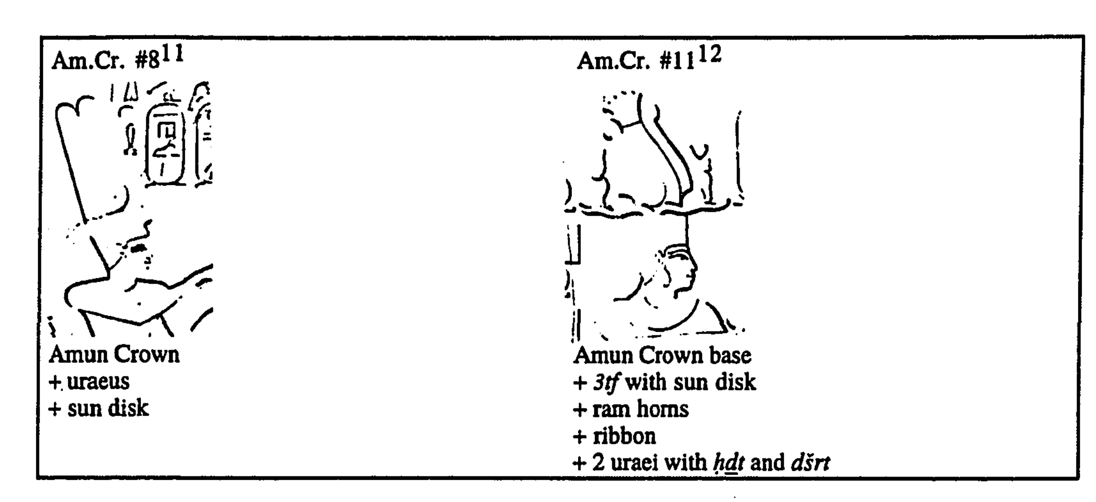
Twenty-fifth Dynasty:

Am.Cr. #17[10]

Amun Crown
+*3tf* with sun disk
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ ribbon

9 Osing, *Temple Sethos I.*, pl. 32.

10 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 5, pl. 10.



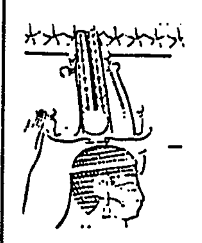
Am.Cr. #8[11]

Amun Crown
+ uraeus
+ sun disk

Am.Cr. #11[12]

Amun Crown base
+ *3tf* with sun disk
+ ram horns
+ ribbon
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*

sšd #44[13]



Amun Crown over *sšd*
+ double *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

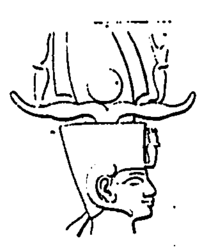
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[11] *Ibid.*, pl. 7.

[12] *Ibid.*, pl. 10.

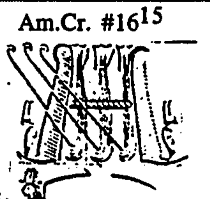
[13] *Ibid.*, pl. 41.

Am.Cr. #12[14]



Amun Crown base
+ *3tf* with sun disk
+ uraeus with *sḫmty*
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ Amun horn

Am.Cr. #16[15]





Amun Crown base
+ *hmhm*
+ uraeus with ram horns and tall feathers
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with Amun Crowns and sun disks
+ ribbon
+ 3 *ẖ3bt*

Twenty-sixth - Twenty-ninth Dynsties: None

14 *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

15 *Ibid.*, pl. 60.

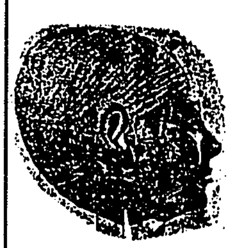
Thirtieth Dynasty:
(Achoris)

	Am.Cr. #13[16]	
	 Amun Crown base + uraeus + ribbon	

The *ḫprš*

Type I. cap crown	Type II. *ḫprš*	Type III. *ḫprš* with *šwty* and ram horns	Type IV. Kushite cap

First - Third Dynasties: None
Fourth Dynasty:
(Shepseskaf)

Ca.Cr. #1[17]			
 Cap Crown prototype + uraeus + striations			

Fifth Dynasty: None

16 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 301.

17 Aldred, *End of the Old Kingdom*, p. 114.

Sixth Dynasty:
(Pepi II)

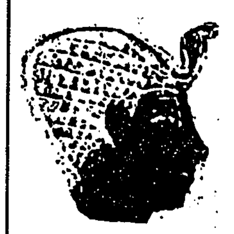
Ca.Cr. #2[18]



Cap Crown prototype
+ uraeus

Seventh - Twelfth Dynasties: None
Thirteenth Dynasty:
(Menkaure Senaib)

Ca.Cr. #4[19]



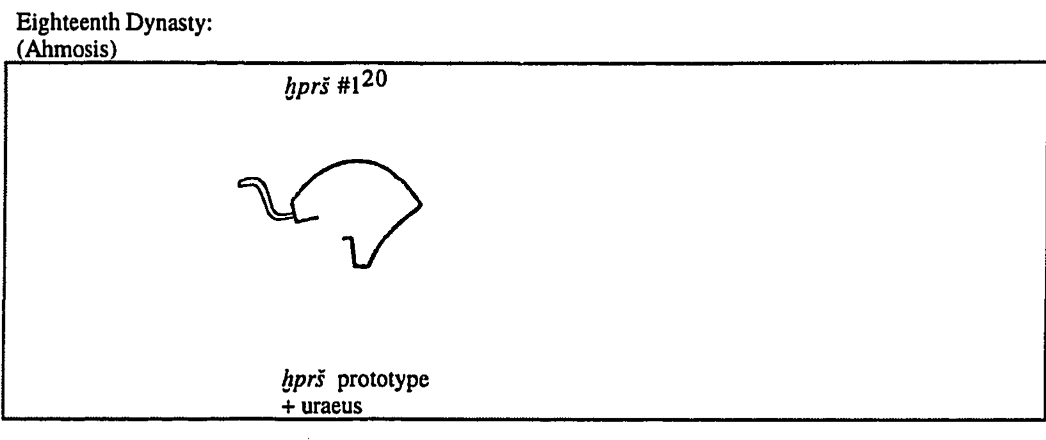
Cap Crown
+ uraeus
+ crosshatches

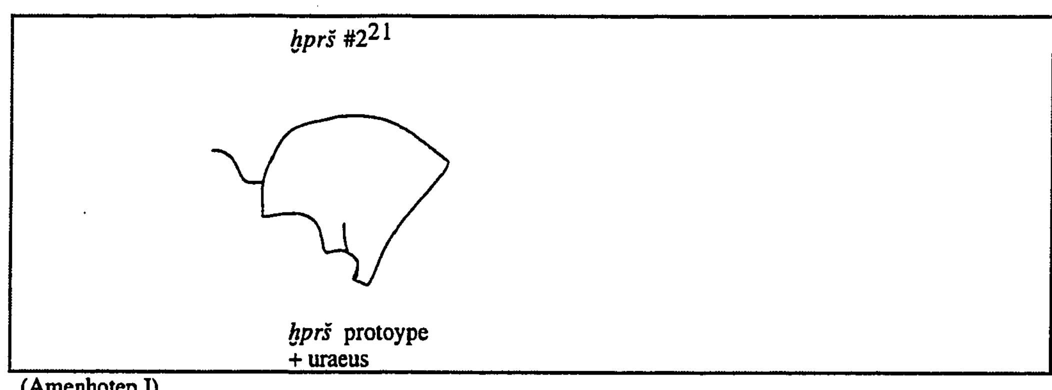
Fourteenth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None

[18] Vandier, *Manuel*, v. 2, pl. 1.

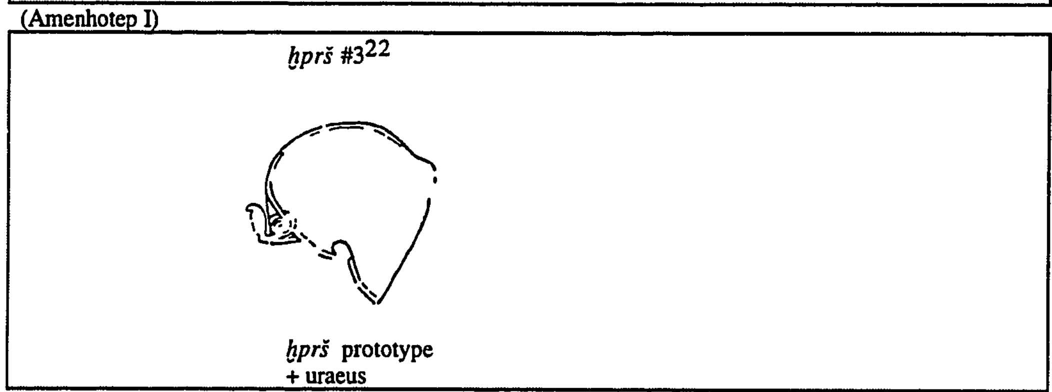
[19] Ertman, "Cap Crown," pl. 13.

Eighteenth Dynasty:
(Ahmosis)





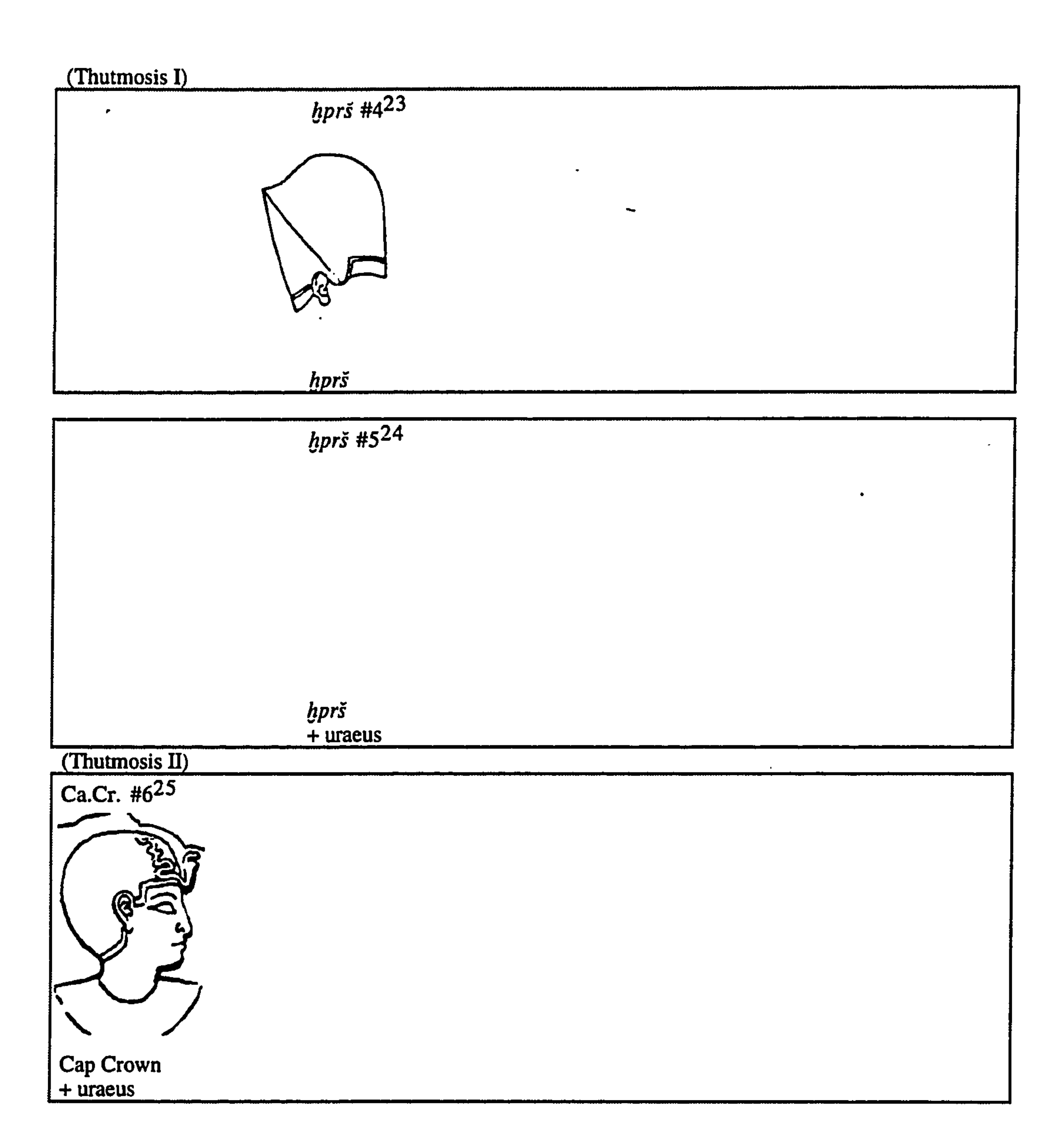
(Amenhotep I)



20 Davies, "Blue Crown," fig. 12.

21 Vandier, *Manuel*, v. , pl. 1-2.

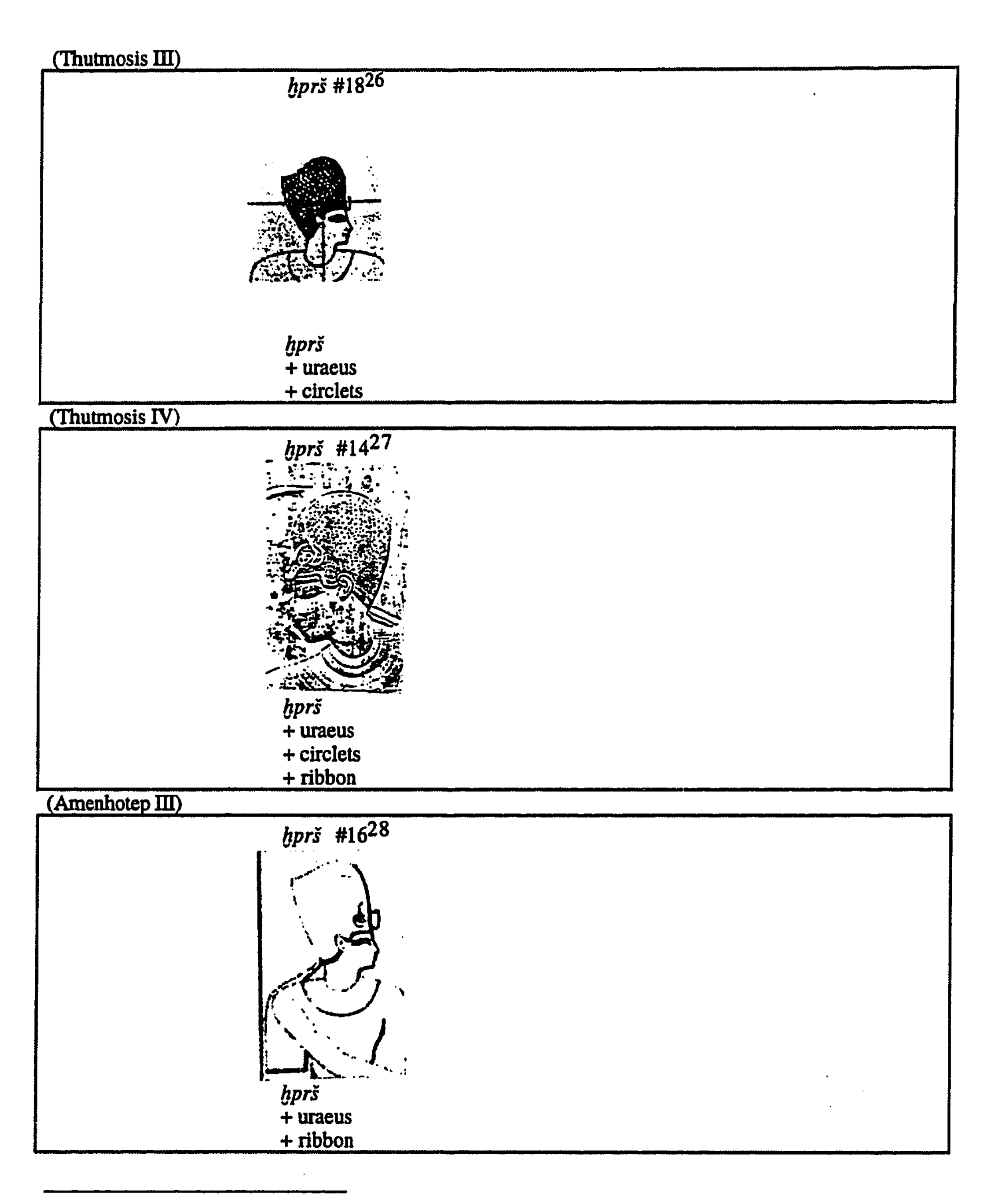
22 Davies, "Blue Crown," fig. 15.



[23] Ertman, "Cap Crown of Nefertiti," pl. 13.

[24] Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, v. 3, pl. 82. Plate not available.

[25] Bruyere, *Deir el-Medinéh*, v. 16, fig. 2.



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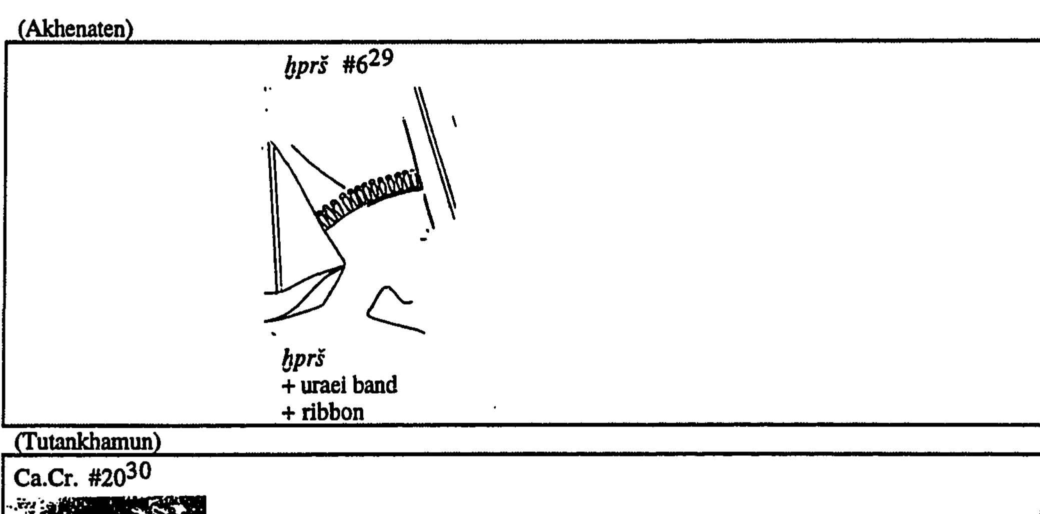
26 Lepsius, Denkmäler, v. 3, pl. 55.

27 Mysliwiec, "Les couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III," pl. 20.

28 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 83.

(Akhenaten)

ḫprš #6[29]



ḫprš
+ uraei band
+ ribbon

(Tutankhamun)

Ca.Cr. #20[30]

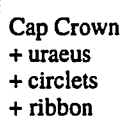
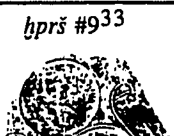
Cap Crown
+ 4 uraei
+ cartouche pair

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29 *Ibid.*, pl. 107.

30 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, fig. 135.

Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Seti I)

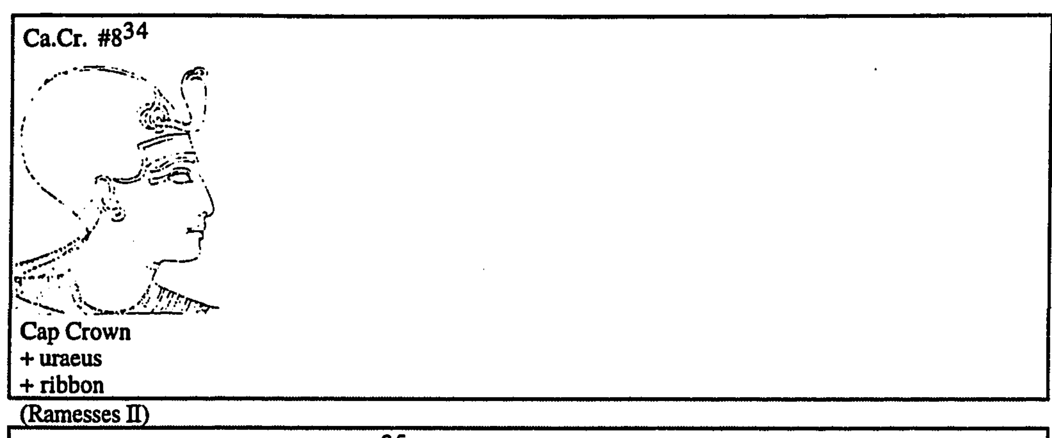
Ca.Cr. #7[31]	*ḫprš* #7[32]	*ḫprš* #9[33]
		
Cap Crown + uraeus + circlets + ribbon	*ḫprš* + uraeus + Amun horn + 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* + ribbon	*ḫprš* + uraeus + ram horns + *šwty* + sun disk + Amun horn + ribbon

[31] Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 32.

[32] *Ibid.*, pl. 38.

[33] *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 44.

Ca.Cr. #8[34]



Cap Crown
+ uraeus
+ ribbon
(Ramesses II)

ḫprš #15[35]

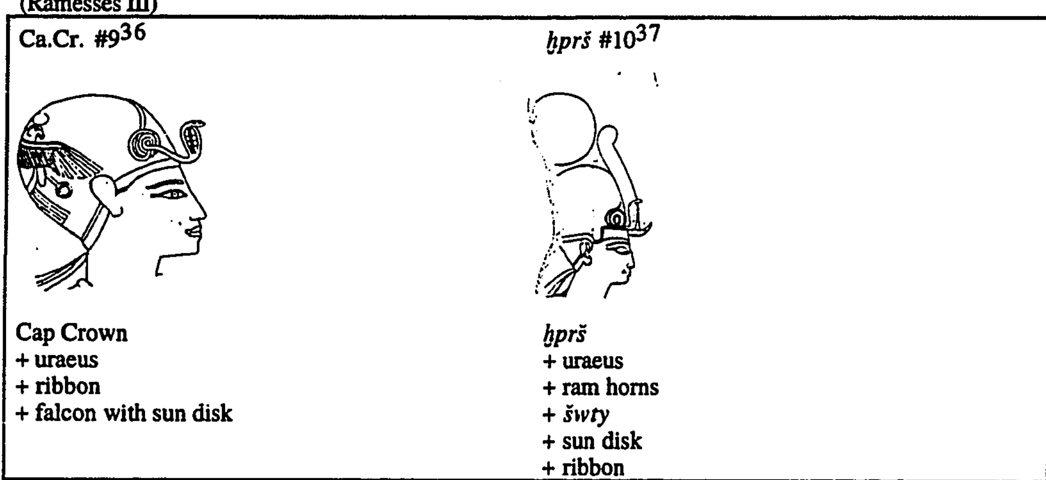
ḫprš
+ uraeus
+ uraeus with *ḥḏt*
+ ribbon

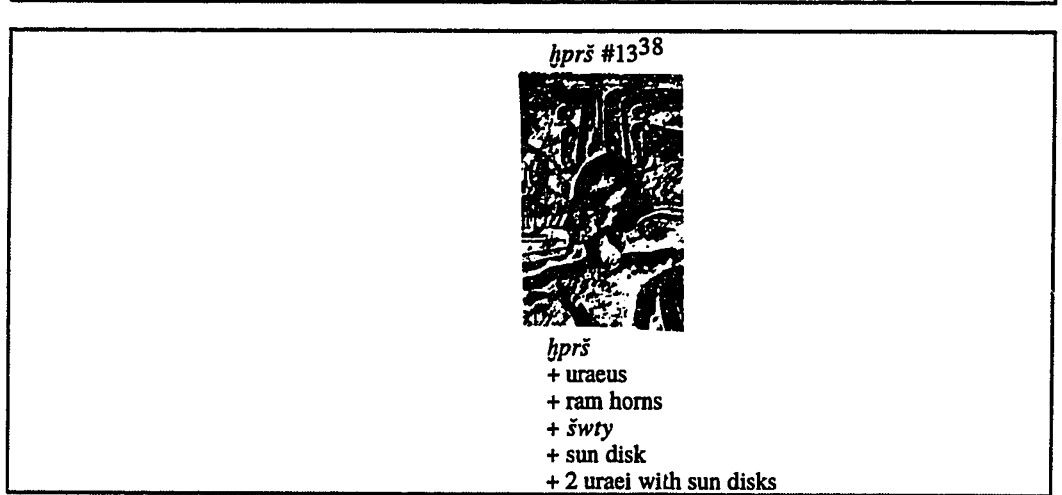
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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Lepsius, *Denkmuäler*, v. 3, pl. 153.

Twentieth Dynasty:
(Ramesses III)





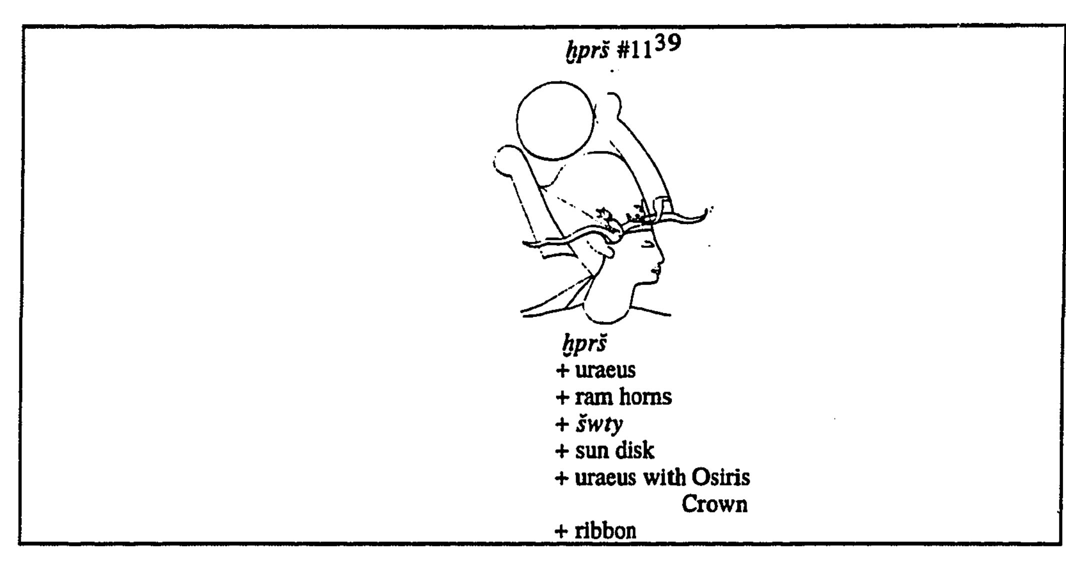
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36 E. Brunner-Traut, "Ein Königskopf der Spätzeit mit dem 'blauen Helm' in Tübingen," *ZÄS* 97 (1971), pl. 23.

37 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 5, pl. 335.

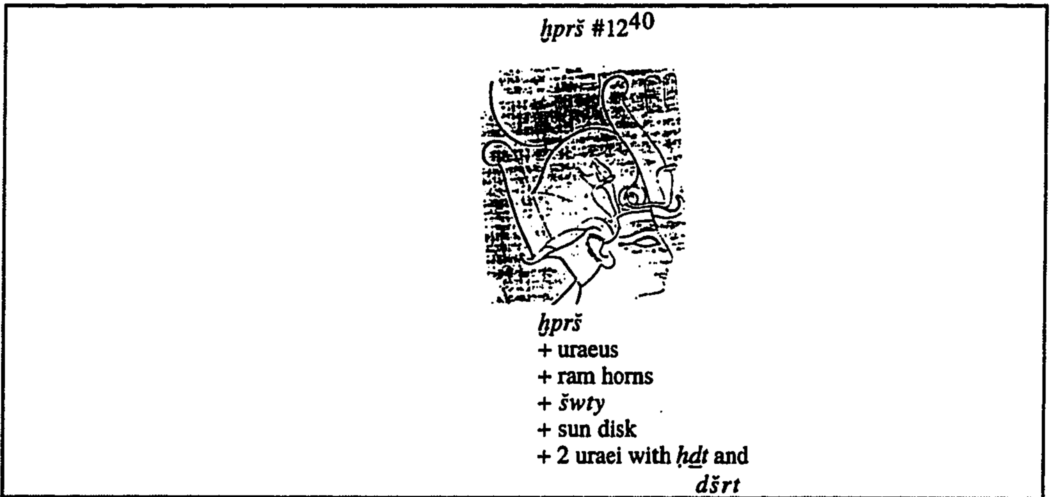
38 Spalinger, *Military Documents*, frontispiece.

ḫprš #11[39]



ḫprš
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ *šwty*
+ sun disk
+ uraeus with Osiris Crown
+ ribbon

ḫprš #12[40]



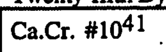
ḫprš
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ *šwty*
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*

Twenty-first - Twenty-fourth Dynasties: None

[39] Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 4, pl. 237.

[40] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 215.


Twenty-fifth Dynasty:


Ca.Cr. #10[41]



Cap Crown
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ *sšd*

Ku.Ca. #2[42]



Kushite Cap
+ uraeus with *ḥḏt*

Ca.Cr. #11[43]



Cap Crown
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ Amun horn
+ ribbon

Ku.Ca. #1[44]



Kushite Cap
+ 2 uraei
+ uraei band

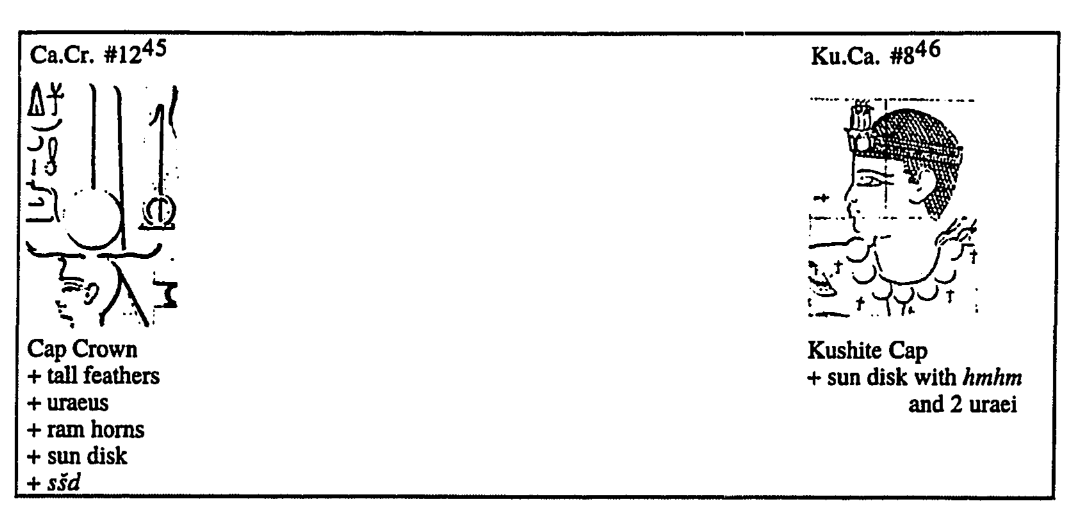
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41 Macadam, *Kawa*, v. 2, pl. 22.

42 Russman, *Representation*, fig. 6.

43 Macadam, *Kawa*, v. 2, pl. 18.

44 Russman, *Representation*, fig. 1.

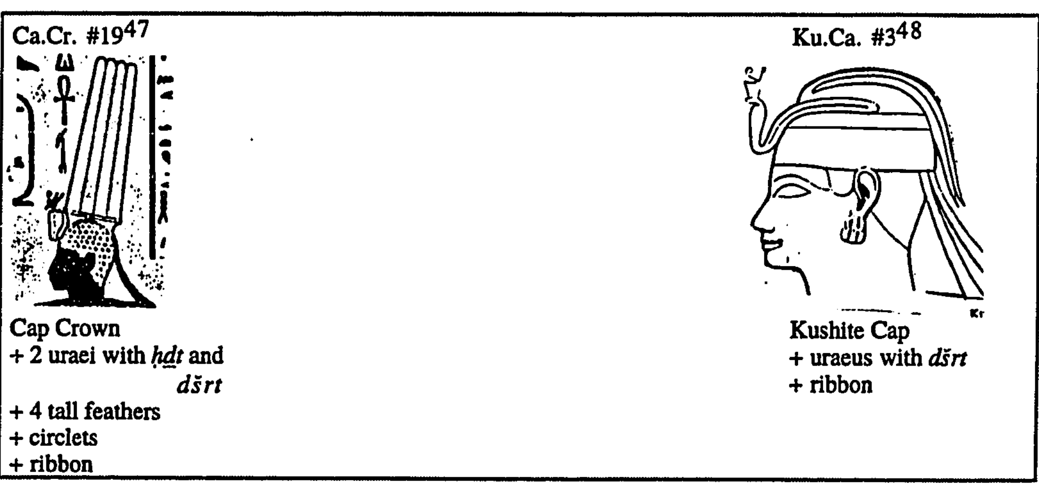


Ca.Cr. #12[45]

Cap Crown
+ tall feathers
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ *sšd*

Ku.Ca. #8[46]

Kushite Cap
+ sun disk with *hmhm* and 2 uraei



Ca.Cr. #19[47]

Cap Crown
+ 2 uraei with *hḏt* and *dšrt*
+ 4 tall feathers
+ circlets
+ ribbon

Ku.Ca. #3[48]

Kushite Cap
+ uraeus with *dšrt*
+ ribbon

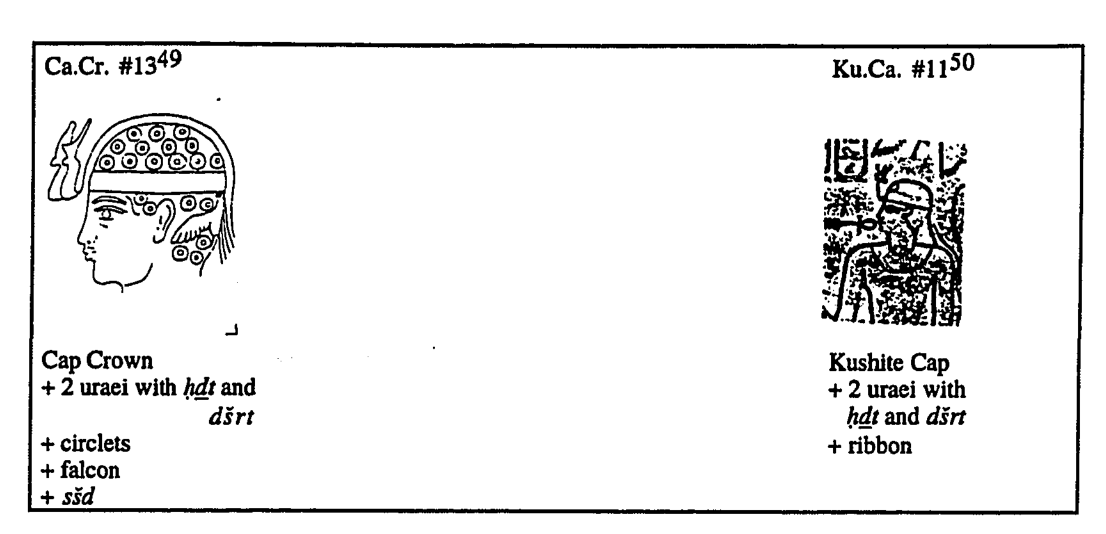
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45 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 5, pl. 9.

46 *Ibid.*, pl. 60.

47 *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

48 *Ibid.*, pl. 2.



Ca.Cr. #13[49]

Cap Crown
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ circlets
+ falcon
+ *sšd*

Ku.Ca. #11[50]

Kushite Cap
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ ribbon

Ca.Cr. #15[51]

Cap Crown
+ *sḫmty*
+ 3 uraei
+ ram horns
+ ribbon

Ku.Ca. #4[52]

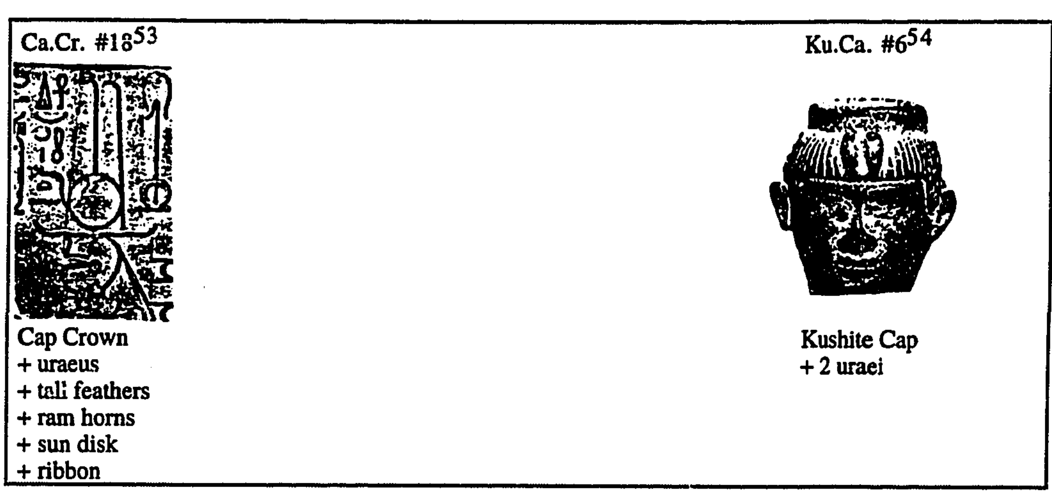
Kushite Cap
+ Amun Crown with 4 feathers
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ 4 tall feathers
+ ribbon

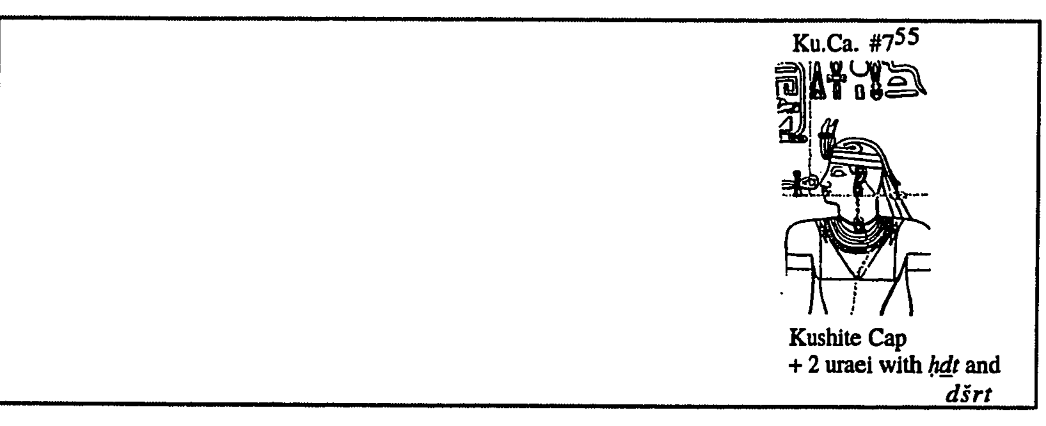
49 Brunner-Traut, "Ein Königskopf der Spätzeit," p. 24, fig. 5.

50 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 5, pl. 8.

51 *Ibid.*, pl. 17.

52 *Ibid.*, pl. 5 and 13.

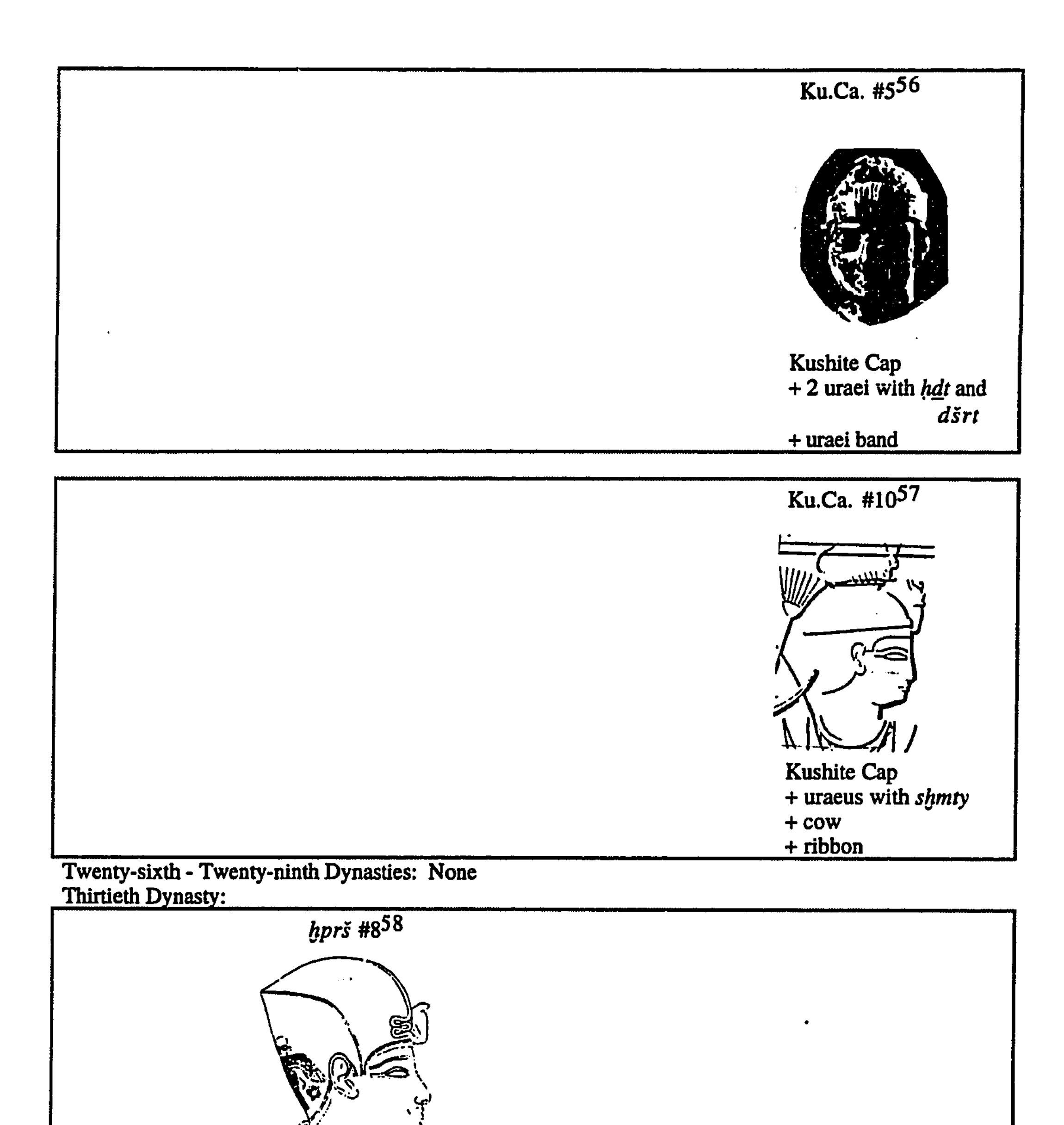




53 *Ibid.*, pl. 9.

54 Russman, *Representation*, fig. 25.

55 Macadam, *Kawa*, v. 2, pl. 17c.



Twenty-sixth - Twenty-ninth Dynasties: None

Thirtieth Dynasty:

ḫprš #8[58]

ḫprš
+ uraeus
+ falcon with sun disk

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[56] Russman, *Representation*, fig. 19.

[57] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 5, pl. 30.

[58] Brunner-Traut, "Königskopf der Spätzeit," p. 24, fig. 6.

Chapter Six -Chart of Development

The *sḫmty* of the Ptolemaic Period

Type I. *sḫmty*	Type II. *sḫmty* over *sšd*	Type III. *sḫmty* over *nms*	Type IV. *sḫmty* over *ḫ3t*	Type V. *sḫmty* over *ḫprš*	Type VI. *sḫmty* over Cap Crown

Pt. *sḫmty* #10[1]	Pt. *sḫmty* #38[2]	Pt. *sḫmty* #22[3]	Pt. *sḫmty* #25[4]	Pt. *sḫmty* #40[5]	Pt. *sḫmty* #43[6]
sḫmty	*sḫmty* over *sšd* + uraeus	*sḫmty* over *nms* + uraeus + ram horns	*sḫmty* over *ḫ3t* + uraeus	*sḫmty* over *ḫprš* + uraeus + ram horns + ribbon	*sḫmty* over Cap Crown + uraeus + 2 uraei with sun disks + *šwty* + ram horns + ribbon

1 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 1, pl. 73.

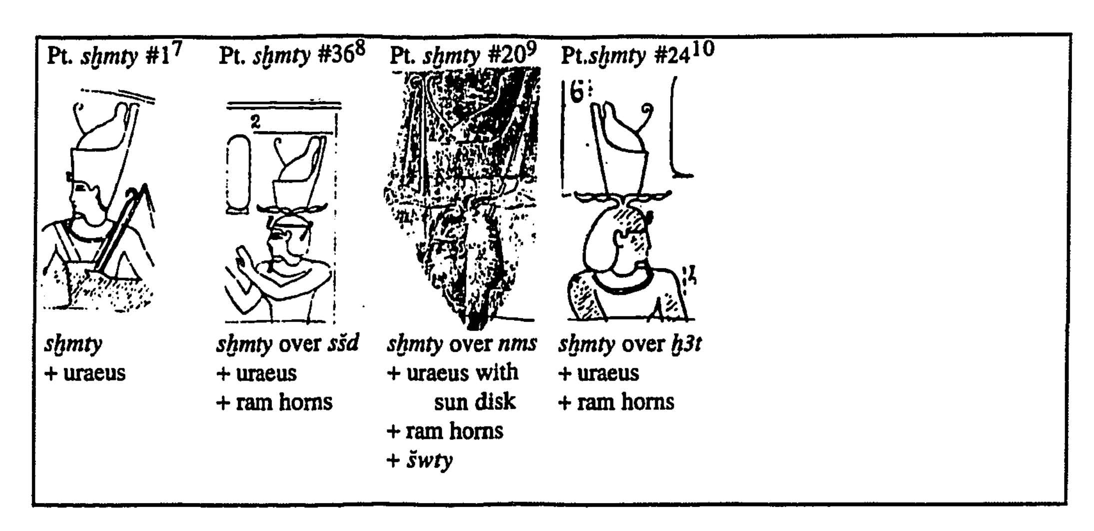
2 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 11, pl. 249.

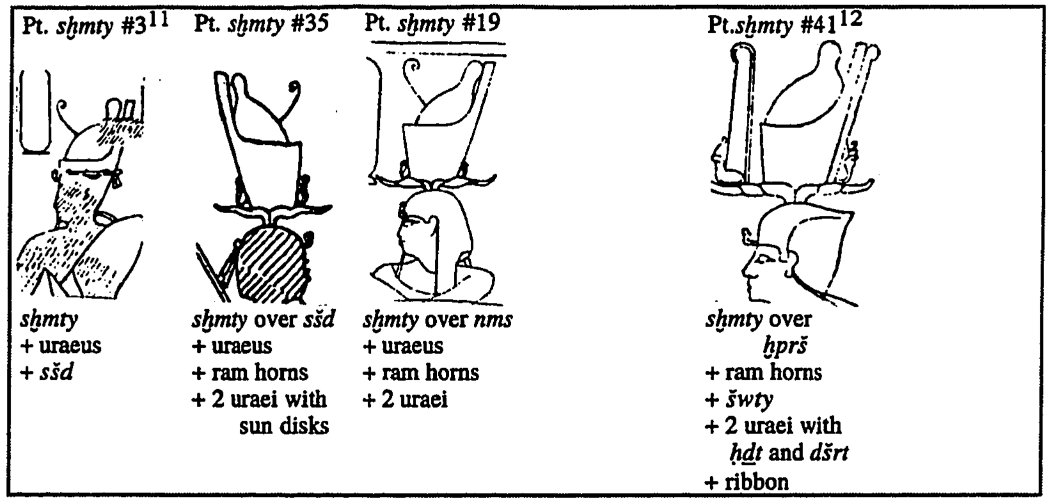
3 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 8, pl. 805.

4 H. Junker, *Der Grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien: R.M. Roher, 1958), fig. 74.

5 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 10, pl. 119.

6 Sauneron, *Esna*, v. 2, p. 57.





7 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 3, pl. 13.

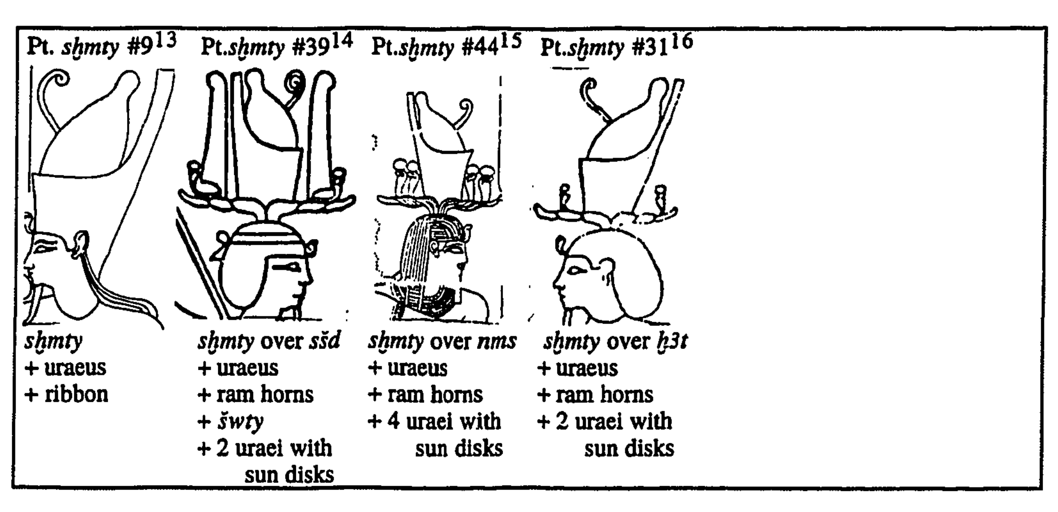
8 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 1, pl. 68.

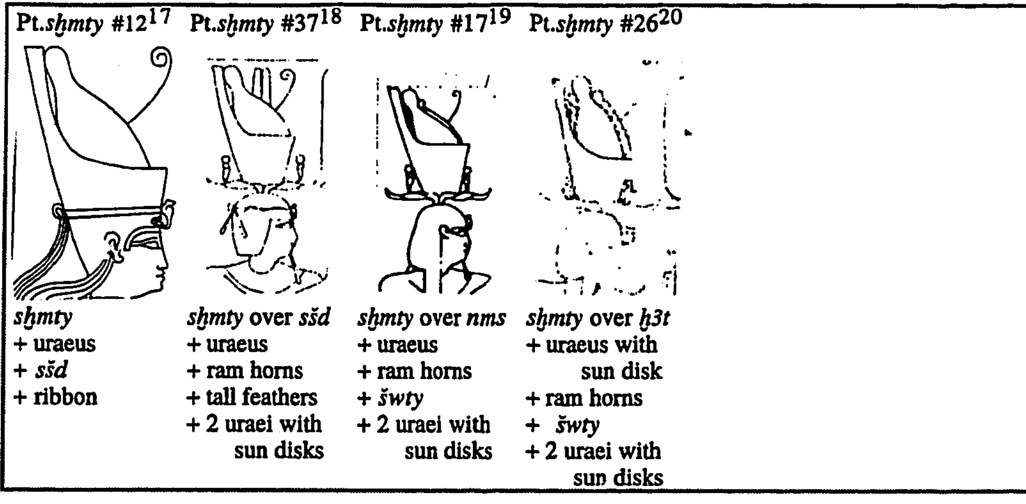
9 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 11, pl. 264.

10 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 61.

11 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 3, pl. 61.

12 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 6, pl. 549.





13 *Ibid.*, v. 8, pl. 606.

14 *Ibid.*, v. 6, pl. 562.

15 Sauneron, *Esna*, v. 2, p. 113.

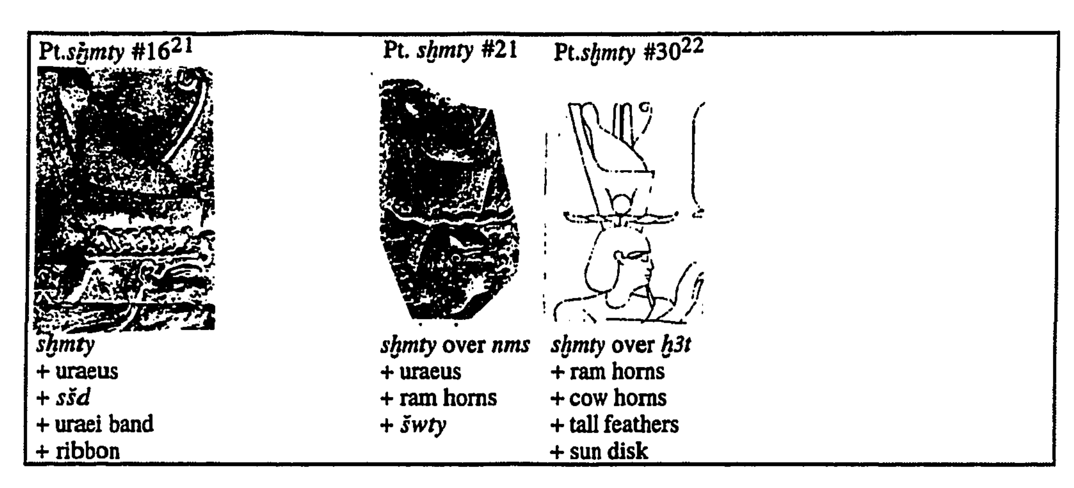
16 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 5, pl. 571.

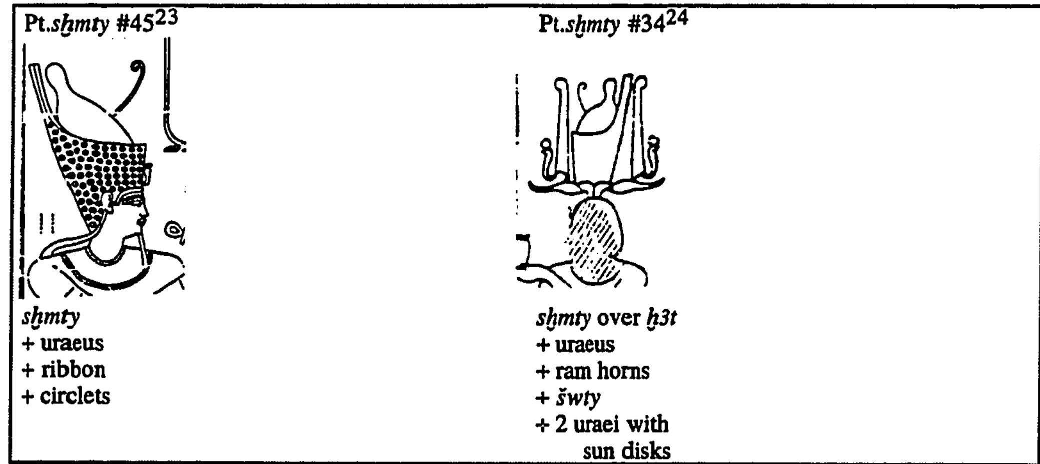
17 *Ibid.*, v. 7, pl. 681.

18 *Ibid.*, v. 2, pl. 144.

19 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 12, pl. 410.

20 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 6, pl. 606.





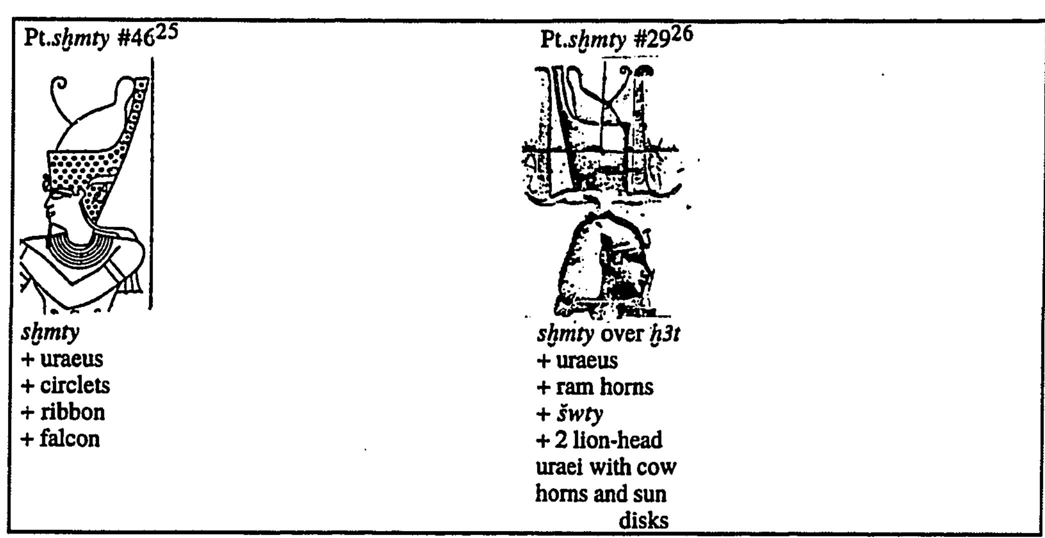
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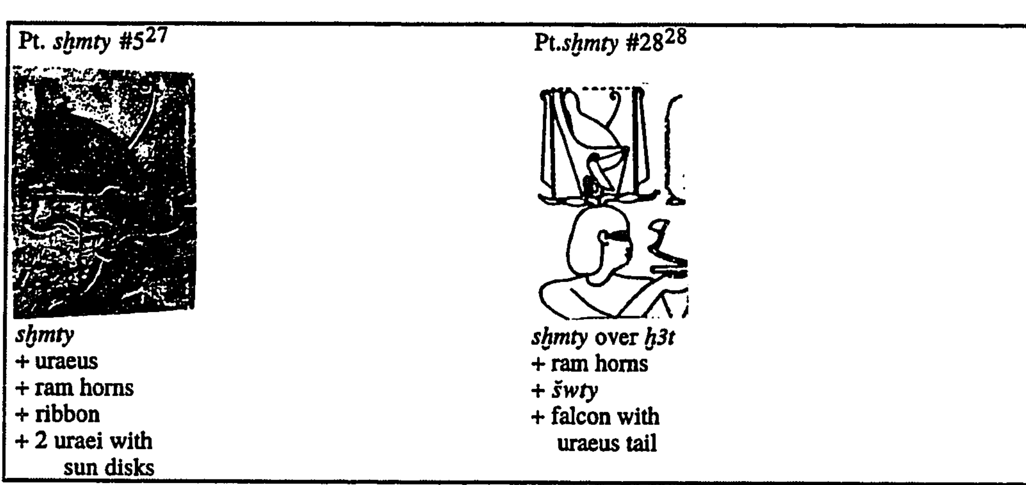
21 *Ibid.*, v. 2, pl. 113.

22 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 240.

23 Sauneron, *Esna*, v. 2, p. 113.

24 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 10, pl. 86.





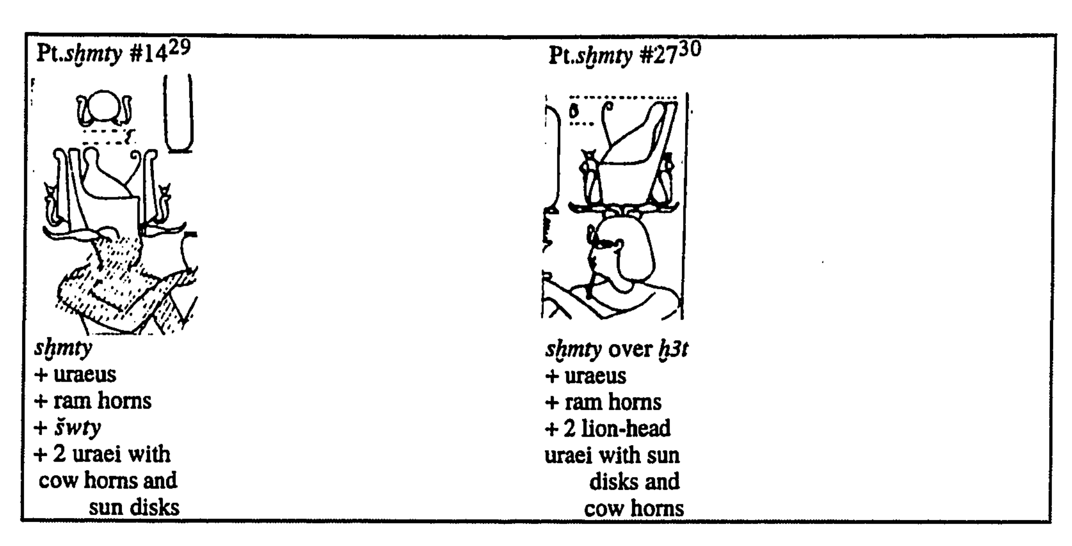
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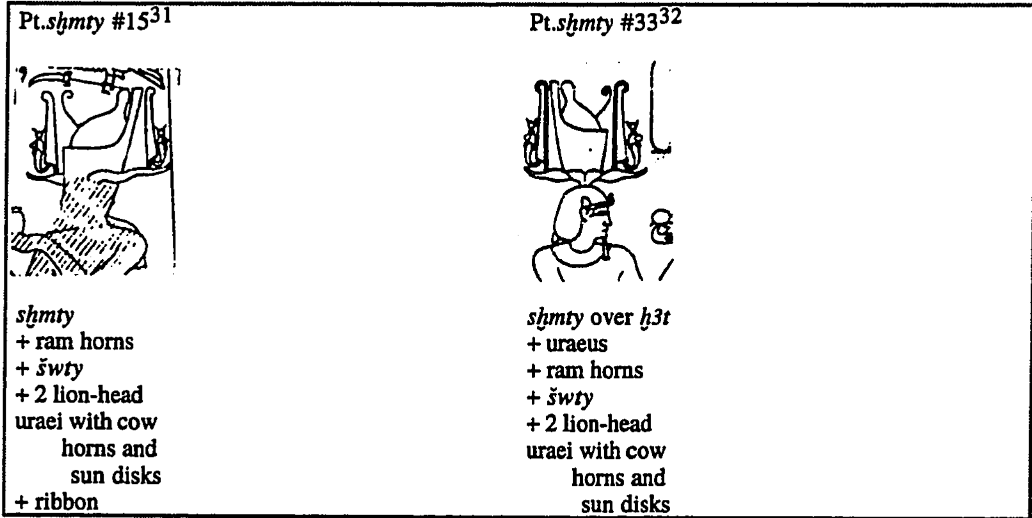
25 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara* , v. 6, pl. 485.

26 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 13, pl. 448.

27 *Ibid.*, v. 12, pl. 390.

28 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 2, pl. 88.



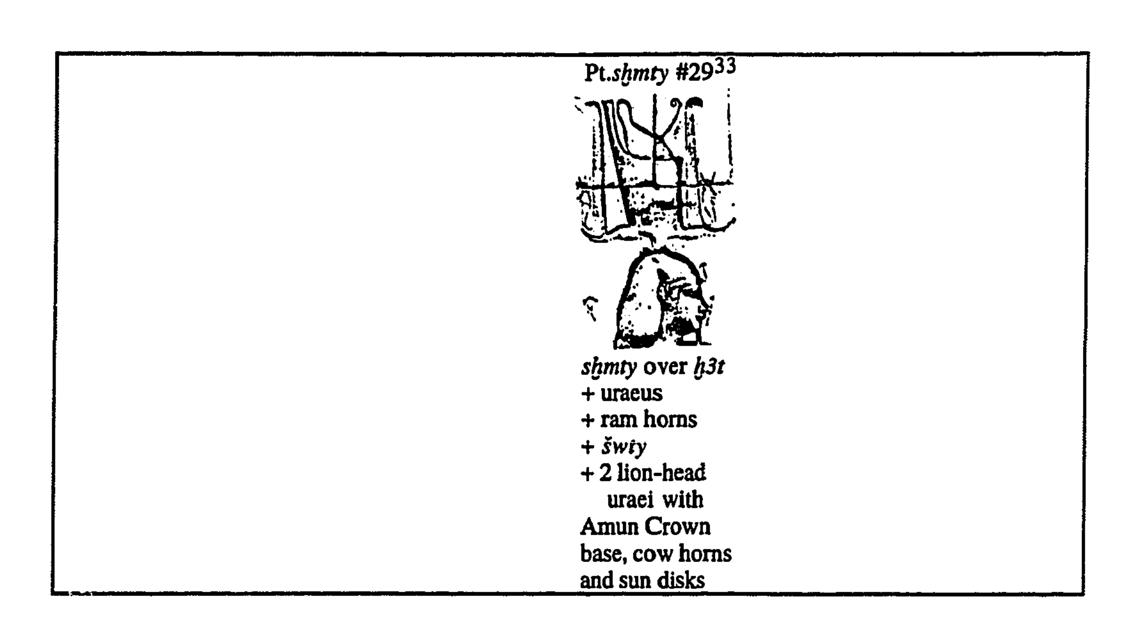


29 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 10, pl. 193.

30 Chassinat and Daumas, *Dendara*, v. 2, pl. 94.

31 Chassinat, *Edfou*, v. 10, pl. 87.

32 *Ibid.*, v. 10, pl. 90.



Pt.*sḫmty* #29[33]

sḫmty over *ḫ3t*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ *šwty*
+ 2 lion-head uraei with Amun Crown base, cow horns and sun disks

[33] *Ibid.*, v. 13, pl. 448.

Supplementary Chart of Development

Gods[1]

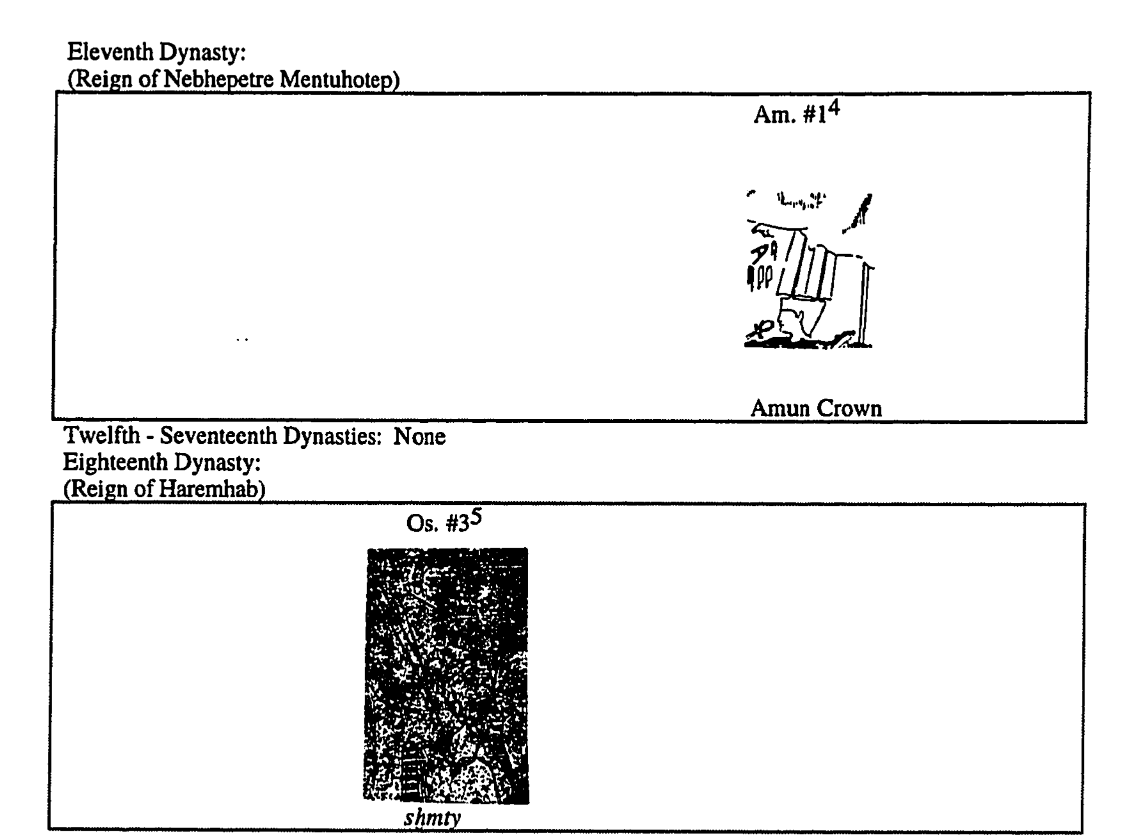
Horus	Osiris	Amun-Re
First Dynasty: None		
Second Dynasty: (Reign of Khasekhem)		
Ho. #1[2] *dšrt*		
Third Dynasty: (Reign of Djoser)		
Ho. #2[3] *sḫmty*		
Fourth-Tenth Dynasties: None		

1 Those with whom the king was identified.

2 Gardiner, *Sinai*, pl. 1a.

3 Schäfer, "'Doppelkrone' der Pharaonen," fig. 1.

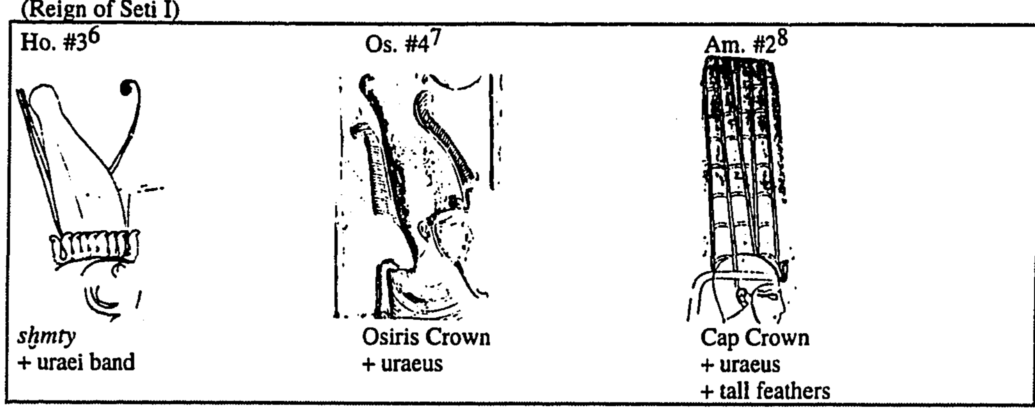
Eleventh Dynasty:
(Reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep)

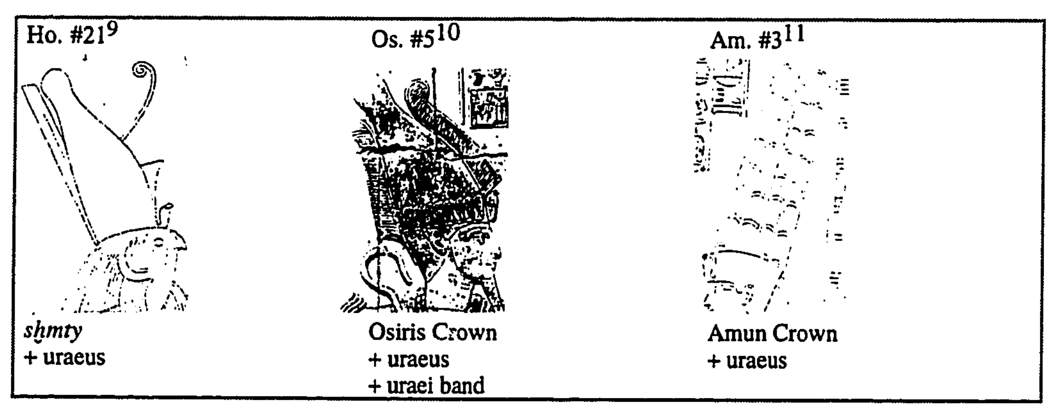


4 Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Menthuhotp," fig. 8.

5 T.M. Davies, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamanou* (London: Constable and Company, 1912), pl. 53.

Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Reign of Seti I)





6 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 37.

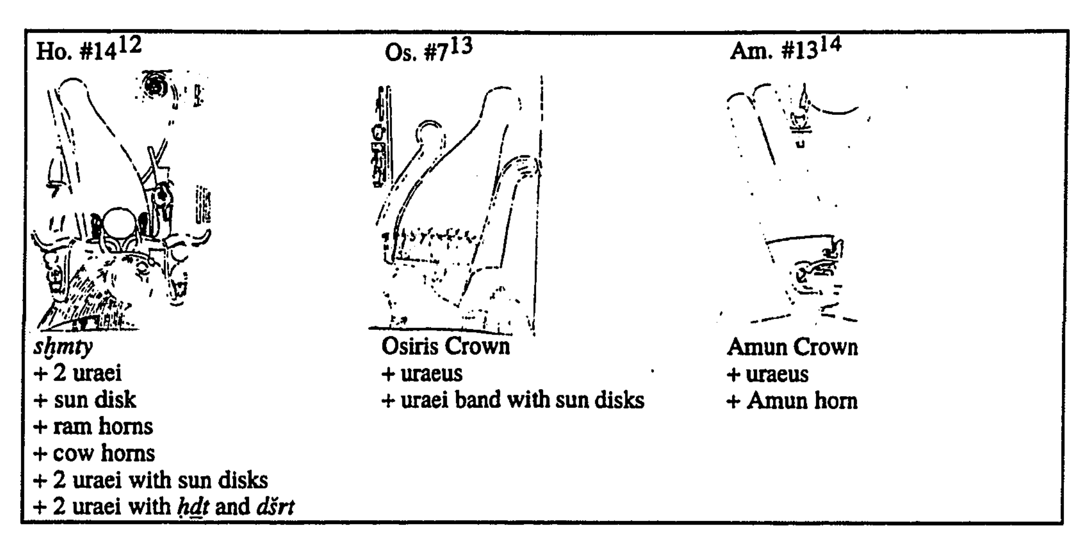
7 *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

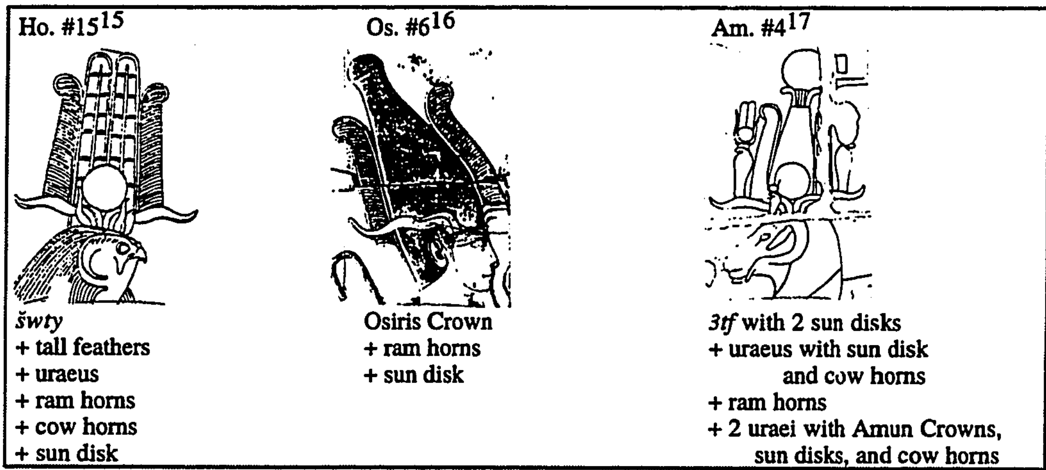
8 *Ibid.*, v. 2, pl. 4.

9 *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 26.

10 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 43.

11 *Ibid.*, v. 2, pl. 8.





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12 *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 27.

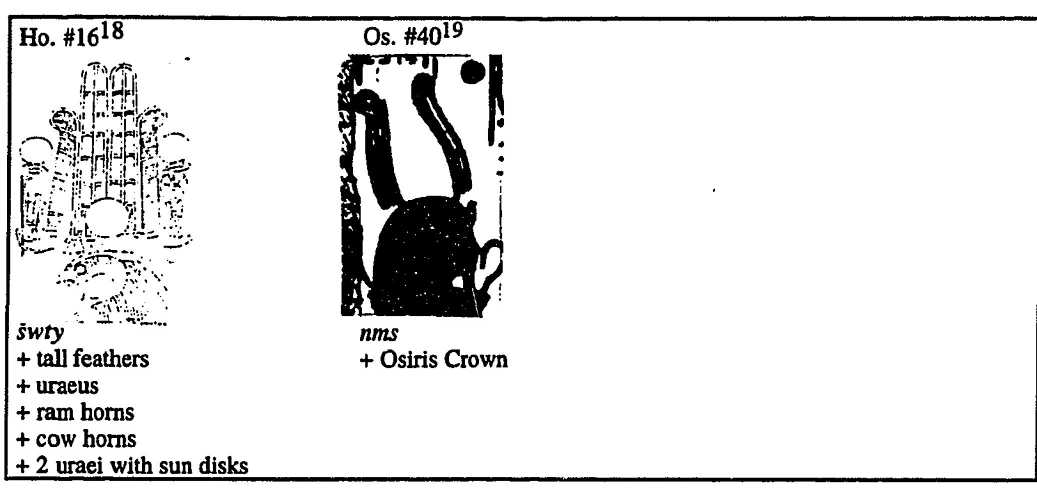
13 *Ibid.*, pl. 13.

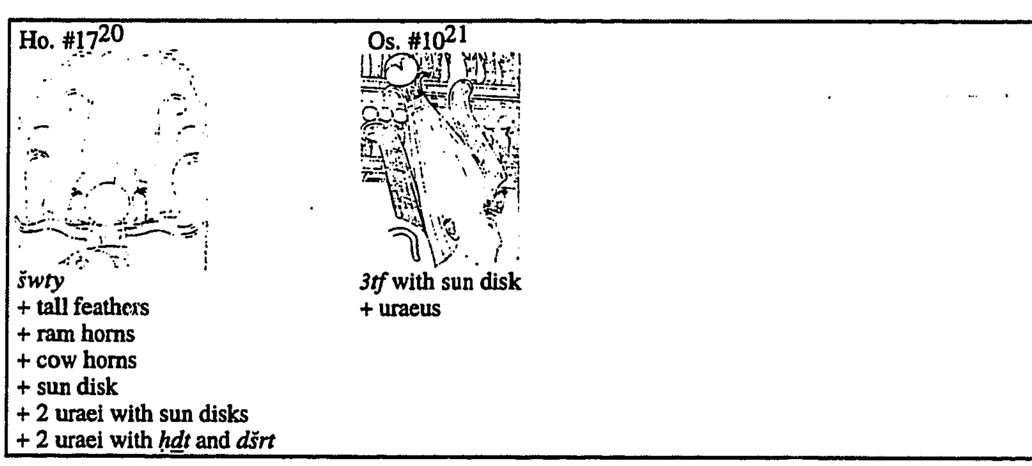
14 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 78.

15 *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 26.

16 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 16.

17 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 152.





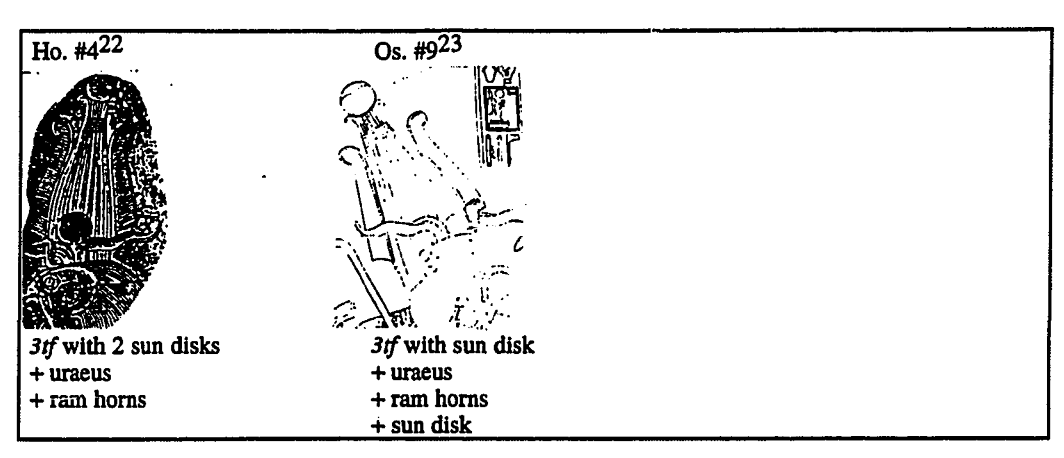
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18 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 1, pl. 30.

19 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 136.

20 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 1: pl. 33.

21 *Ibid.*, pl. 6.

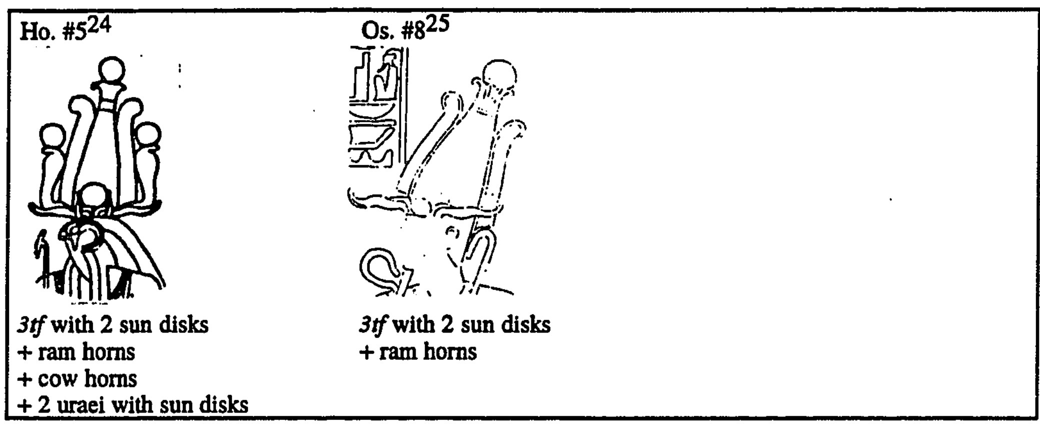


Ho. #4[22]

3tf with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns

Os. #9[23]

3tf with sun disk
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk



Ho. #5[24]

3tf with 2 sun disks
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

Os. #8[25]

3tf with 2 sun disks
+ ram horns

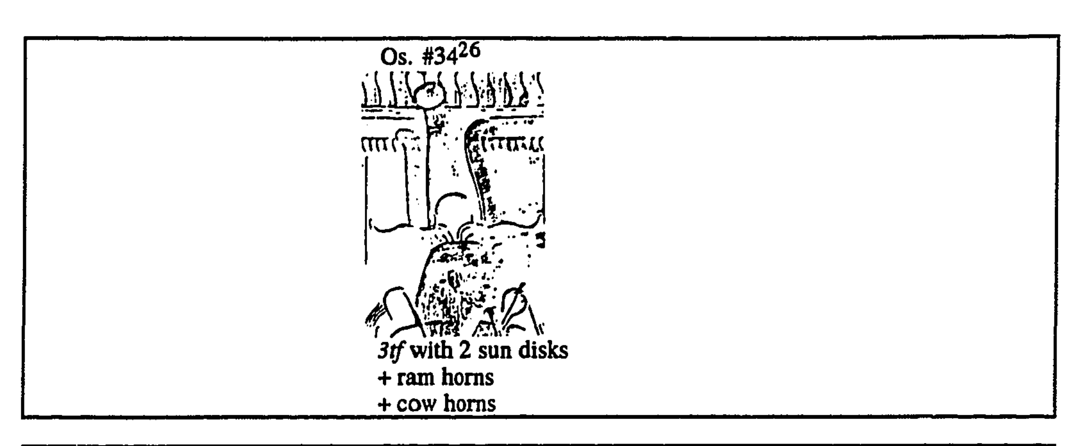
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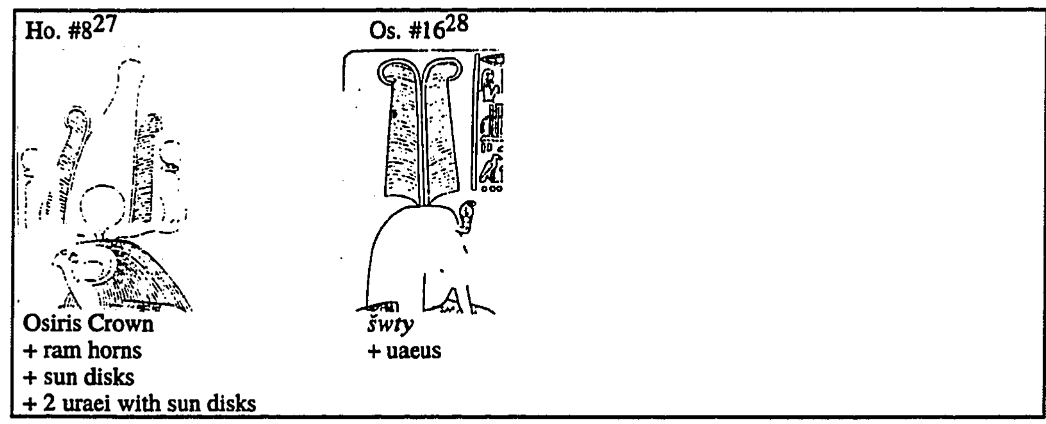
22 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 14.

23 *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 4.

24 David, *Religious Ritual*, p. 69.

25 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 3, pl. 24.

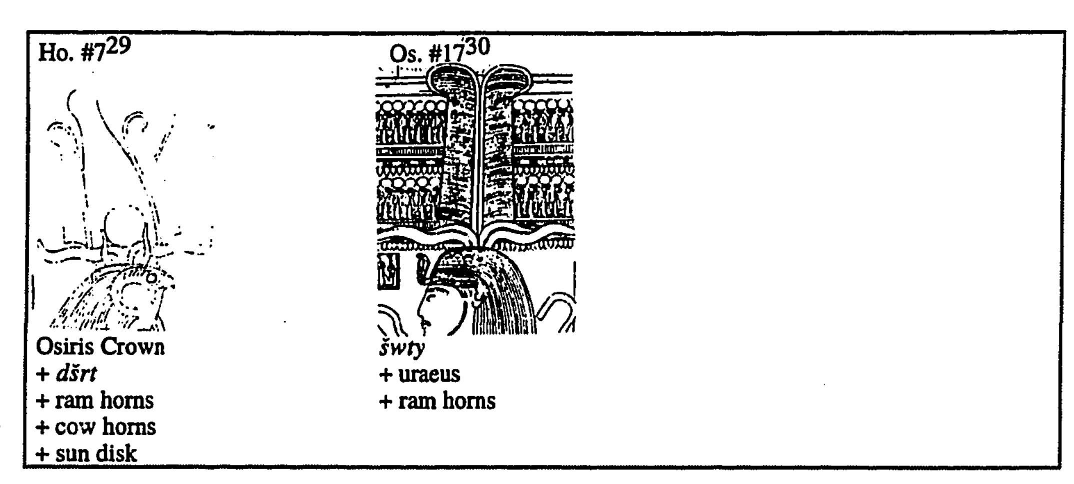


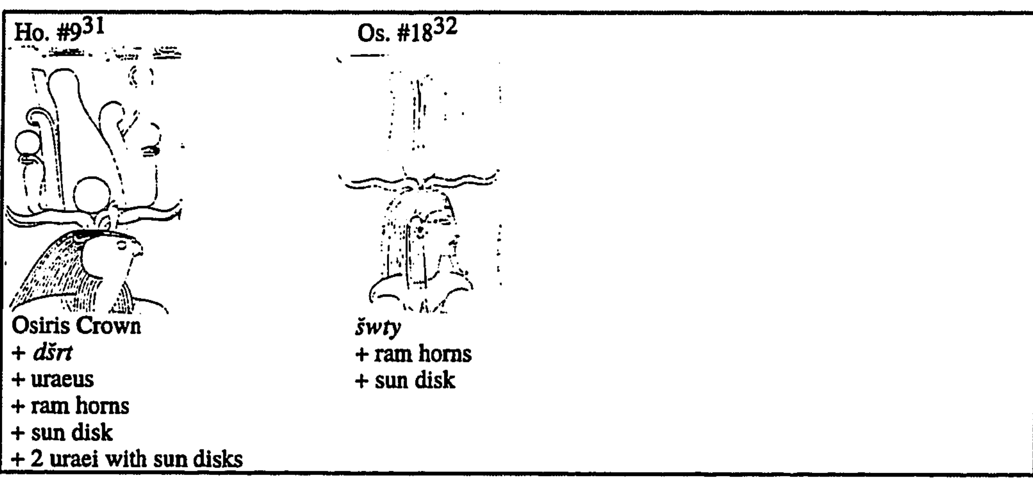


26 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 7.

27 *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 28.

28 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 19.





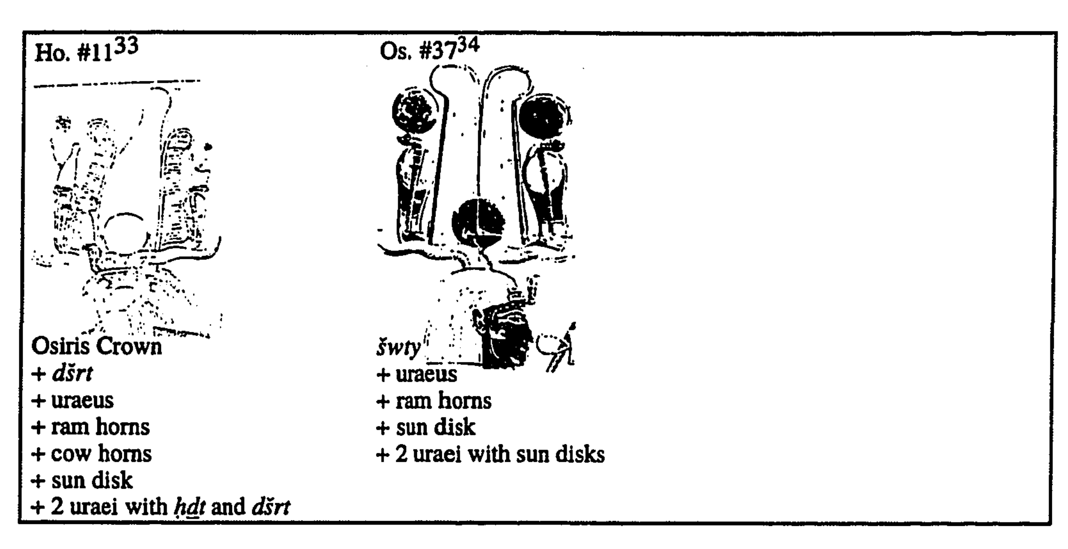
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29 *Ibid.*, pl. 26.

30 *Ibid.*, pl. 10.

31 *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

32 *Ibid.*, pl. 6.

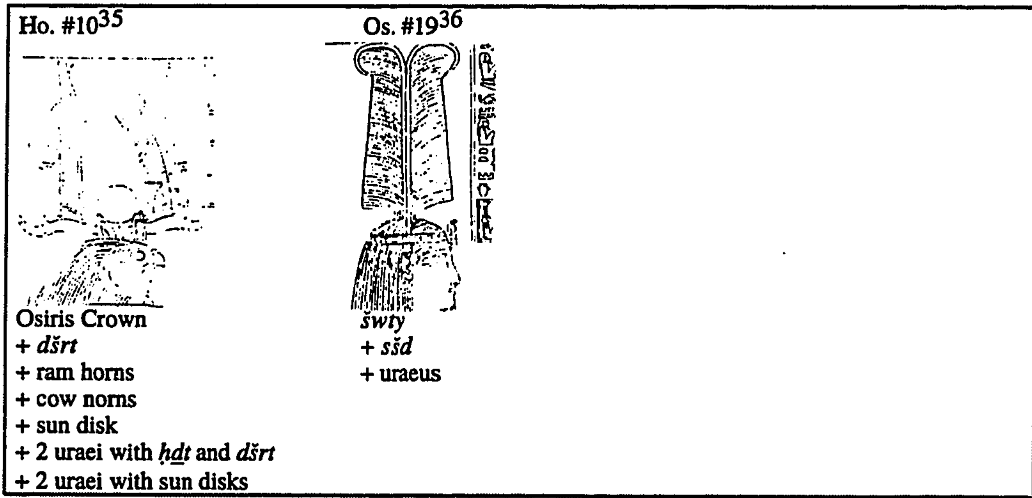


Ho. #11[33]

Osiris Crown
+ *dšrt*
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with *ẖḏt* and *dšrt*

Os. #37[34]

šwty
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with sun disks



Ho. #10[35]

Osiris Crown
+ *dšrt*
+ ram horns
+ cow norns
+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with *ẖḏt* and *dšrt*
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

Os. #19[36]

šwty
+ *sšd*
+ uraeus

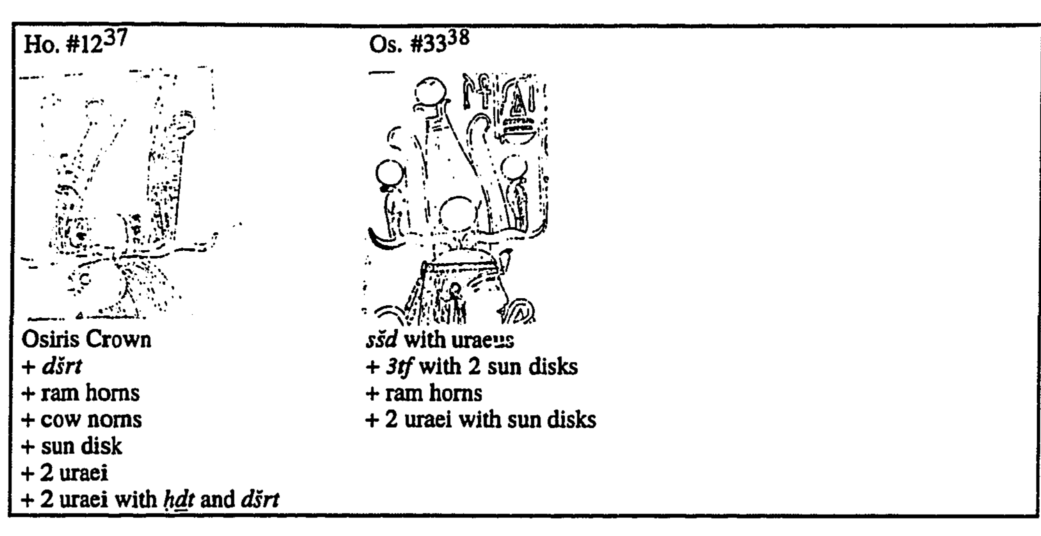
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33 *Ibid.*, v. 1, pl. 33.

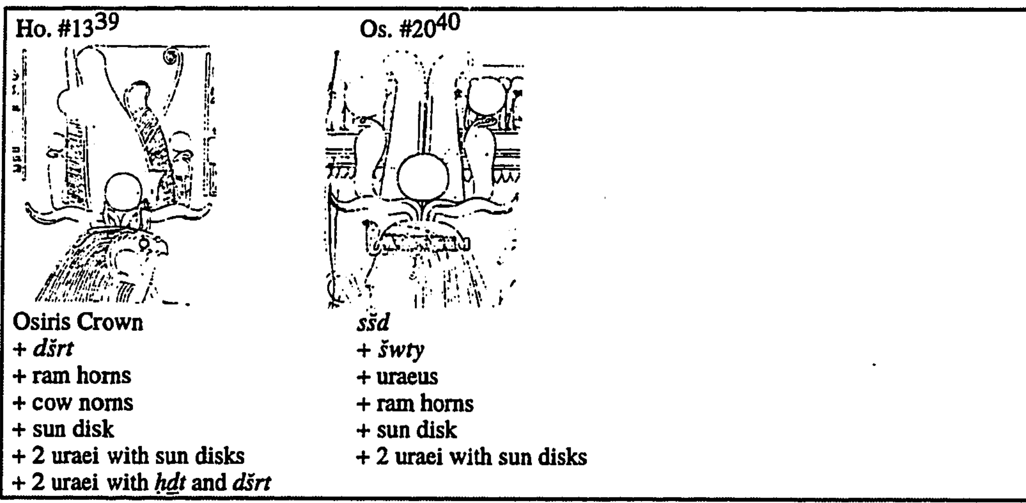
34 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 36.

35 *Ibid.*, pl. 26.

36 *Ibid.*, pl. 4.



Ho. #12[37]	Os. #33[38]
Osiris Crown	*sšd* with uraeus
+ *dšrt*	+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ ram horns	+ ram horns
+ cow noms	+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ sun disk	
+ 2 uraei	
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*	



Ho. #13[39]	Os. #20[40]
Osiris Crown	*sšd*
+ *dšrt*	+ *šwty*
+ ram horns	+ uraeus
+ cow noms	+ ram horns
+ sun disk	+ sun disk
+ 2 uraei with sun disks	+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ 2 uraei with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*	

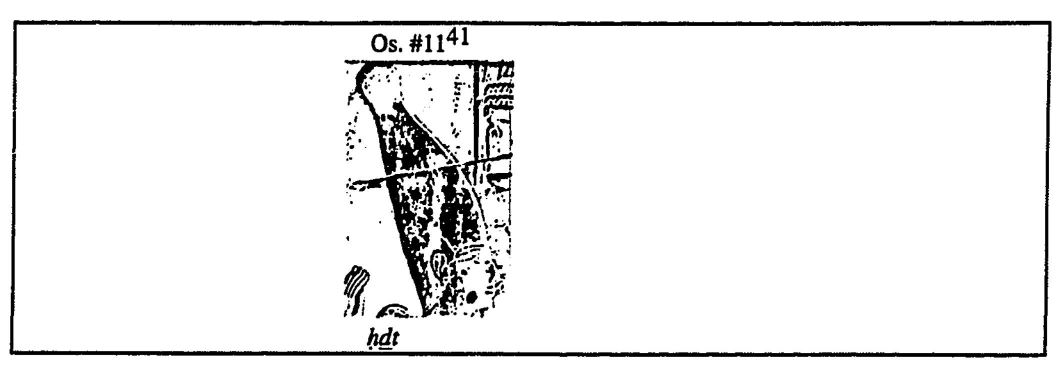
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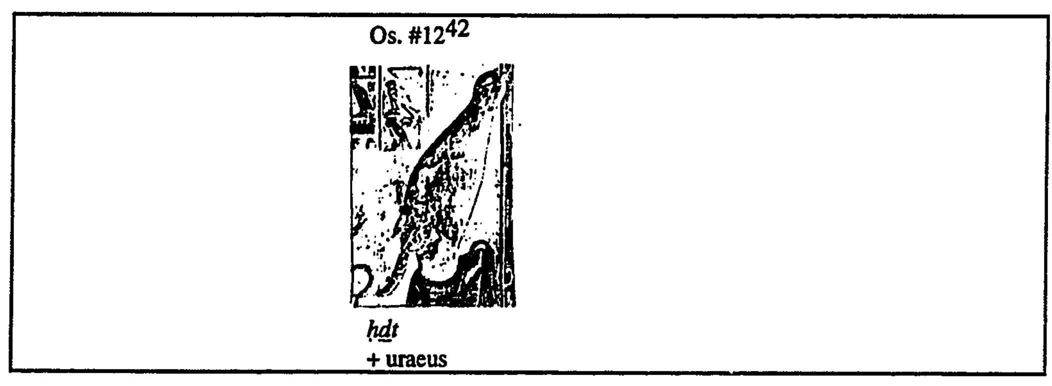
37 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 1, pl. 30.

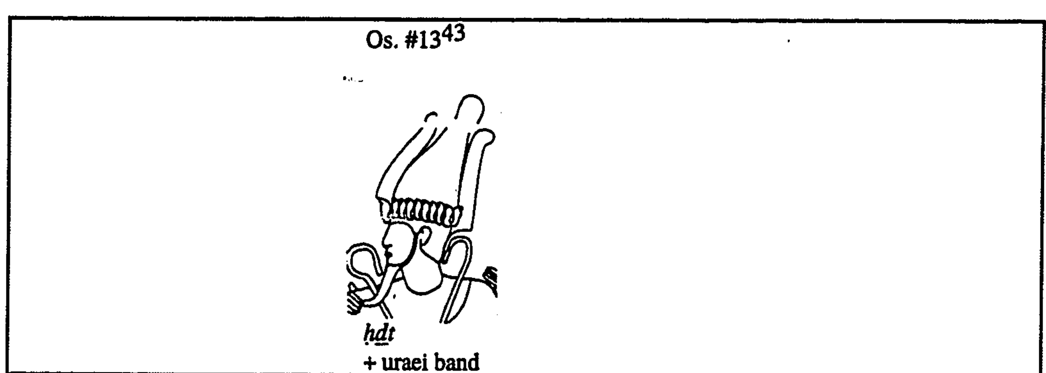
38 *Ibid.*, pl. 3.

39 *Ibid.*, pl. 26.

40 *Ibid.*, pl. 13.


Os. #11[41]
ḥḏt

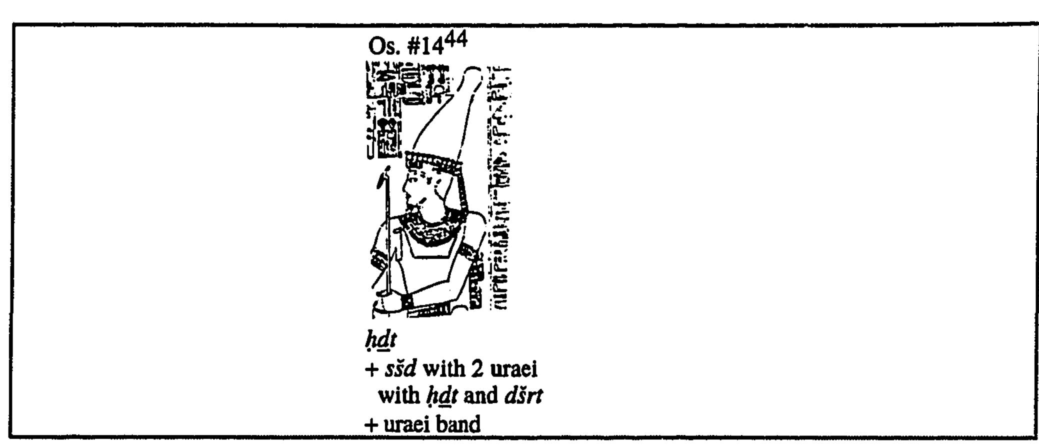

Os. #12[42]
ḥḏt
+ uraeus


Os. #13[43]
ḥḏt
+ uraei band

41 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 4.

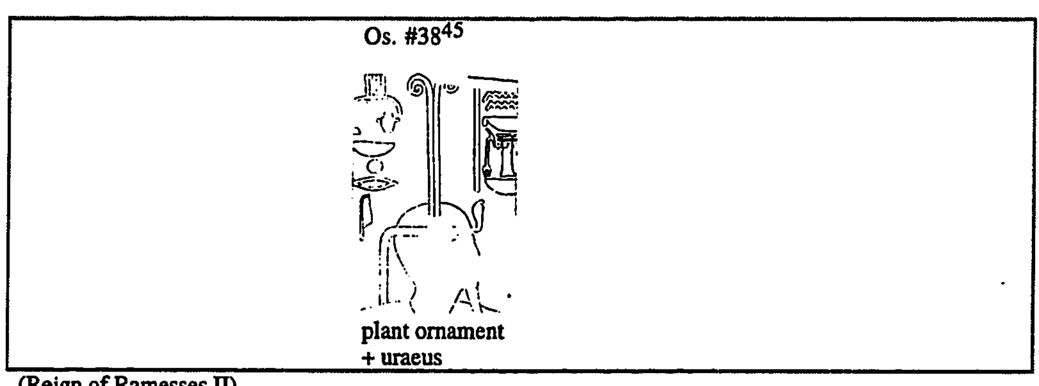
42 *Ibid.*, pl. 4.

43 David, *Religious Ritual*, p. 135.



Os. #14[44]

ḥḏt
+ *sšd* with 2 uraei
with *ḥḏt* and *dšrt*
+ uraei band



Os. #38[45]

plant ornament
+ uraeus

(Reign of Ramesses II)

Am. #5[46]

Amun Crown
+ *hmhm* with 6 sun disks
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ Amun horn

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44 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 1, pl. 13.

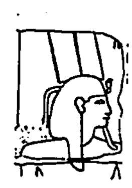
45 *Ibid.*, v. 3, pl. 25.

46 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, v. 1, pl. 36.

Am. #6[47]

3tf with 2 sun disks
+ 2 uraei with tall feathers
+ Amun horn

Am. #7[48]

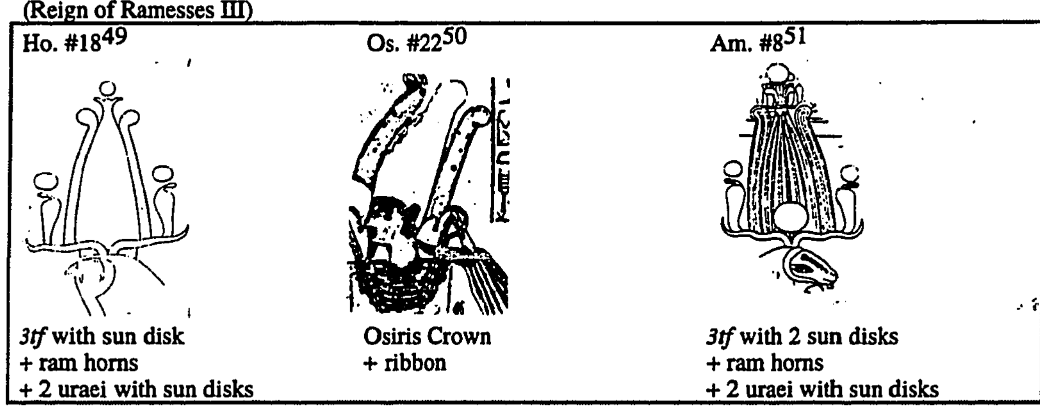


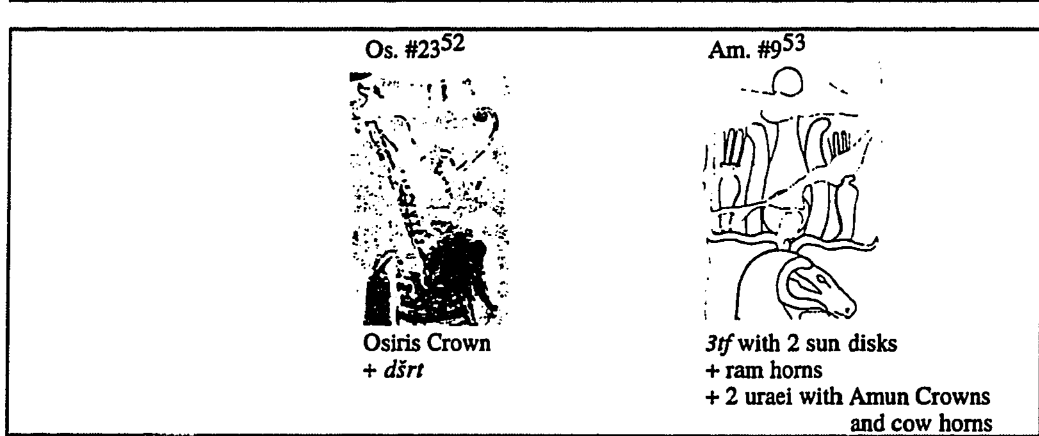
nms
+ uraeus
+ tall feathers

[47] *Ibid.*, pl. 38.

[48] *Ibid.*, pl. 91.


Twentieth Dynasty:
(Reign of Ramesses III)





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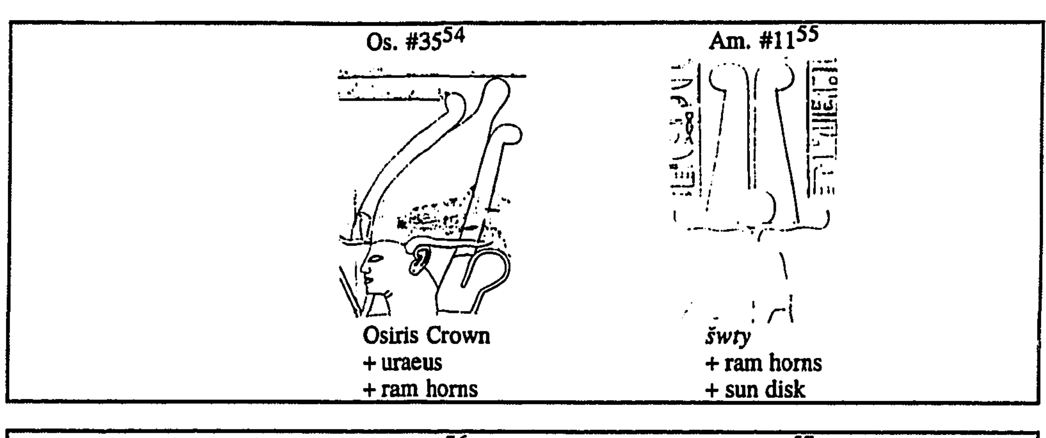
[49] Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 6, pl. 436.

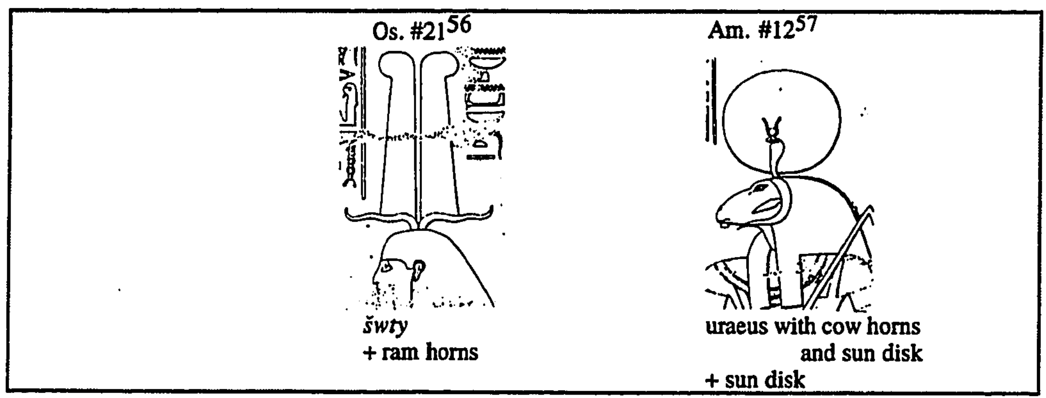
[50] Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, v. 2, pl. 140a.

[51] Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 5, pl. 323.

[52] Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, v. 2, pl. 48.

[53] Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, v. 1, pl. 38.





54 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v. 6, pl. 470.

55 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 242.

56 *Ibid.*, v. 4, pl. 277.

57 *Ibid.*, v. 5, pl. 320.

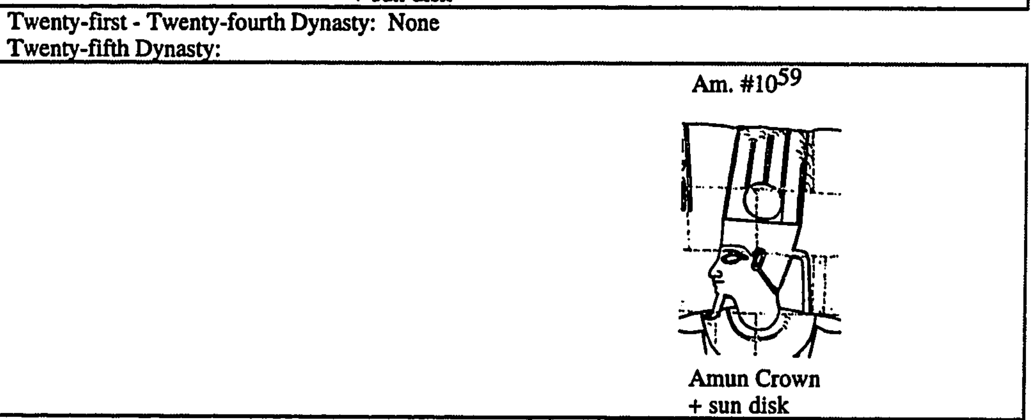
(Reign of Ramesses XI)

Os. #39[58]

sšd with uraeus and sun disk
+ *šwty*
+ ram horns
+ sun disk

Twenty-first - Twenty-fourth Dynasty: None

Twenty-fifth Dynasty:

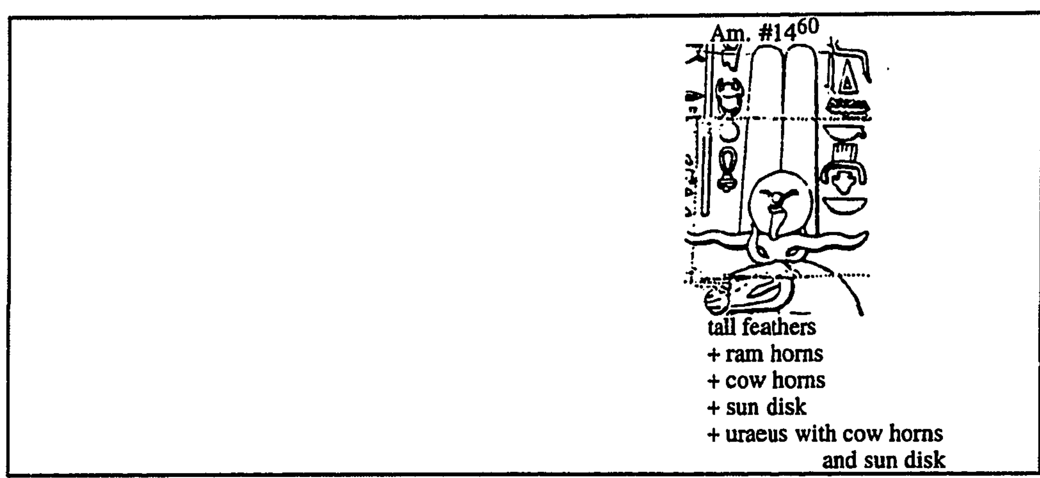


Am. #10[59]

Amun Crown
+ sun disk

[58] E. Rossiter, *The Book of the Dead: Famous Egyptian Papyri* (England: Crown Publishers, 1979), p. 105, pl. 6.

[59] Macadam, *Kawa*, v. 2, pl. 6.



Am. #14[60]

tall feathers
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ sun disk
+ uraeus with cow horns and sun disk

Twenty-sixth - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

Sphinxes[61]

Type I. *nms*	Type II. *nms* with other headdresses	Type III. Amun Crown	Type IV. Other headdresses

First - Third Dynasties: None
Fourth Dynasty:
(Khafre)

Sph. #1[62]			
nms			

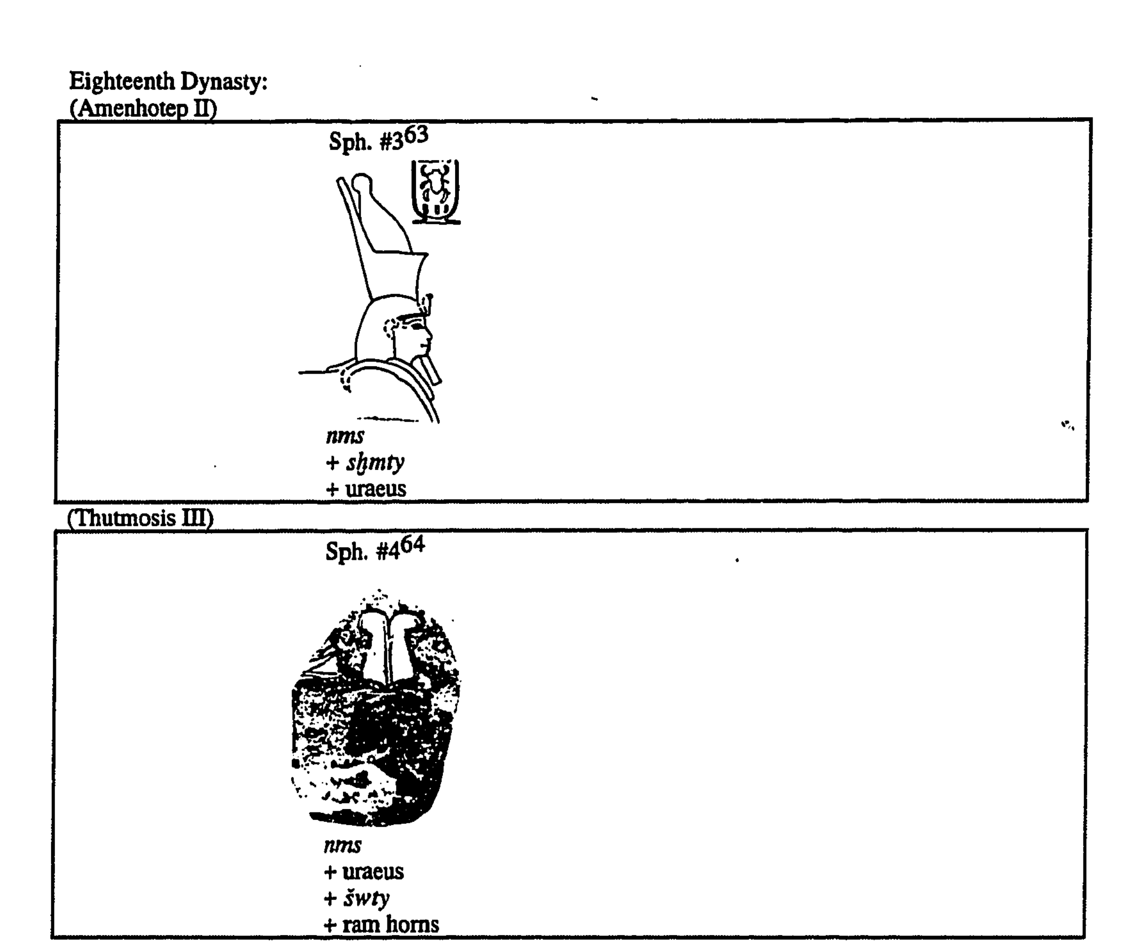
Fifth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None

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60 *Ibid.*, v. 2, pl. 18a.

61 Only sphinxes and griffons with royal headdresses.

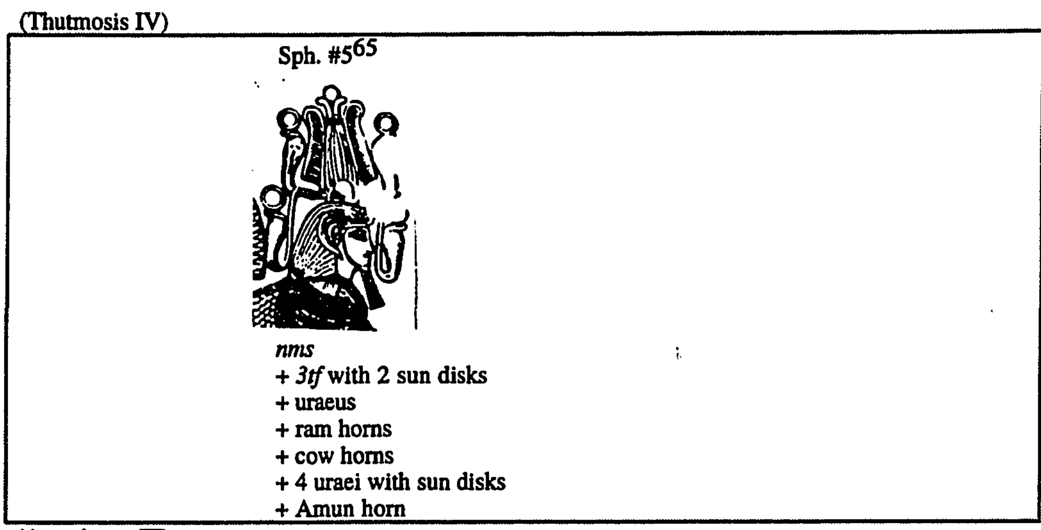
62 Baines and Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, p. 164.



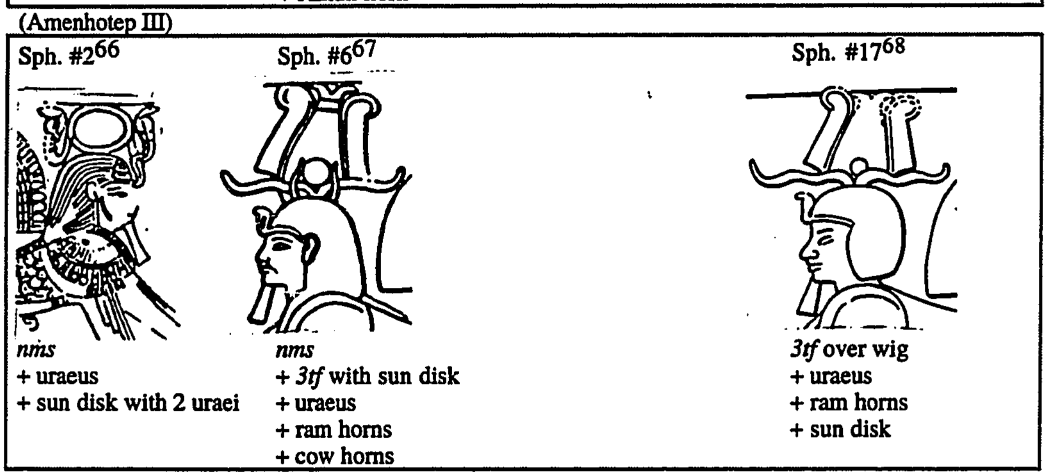
[63] N. de G. Davies, *Kenamun*, v. 1, pl. 19.

[64] Bruyere,*Deir el Medineh*, v. 20, pt. 1, fig. 48.

(Thutmosis IV)



(Amenhotep III)

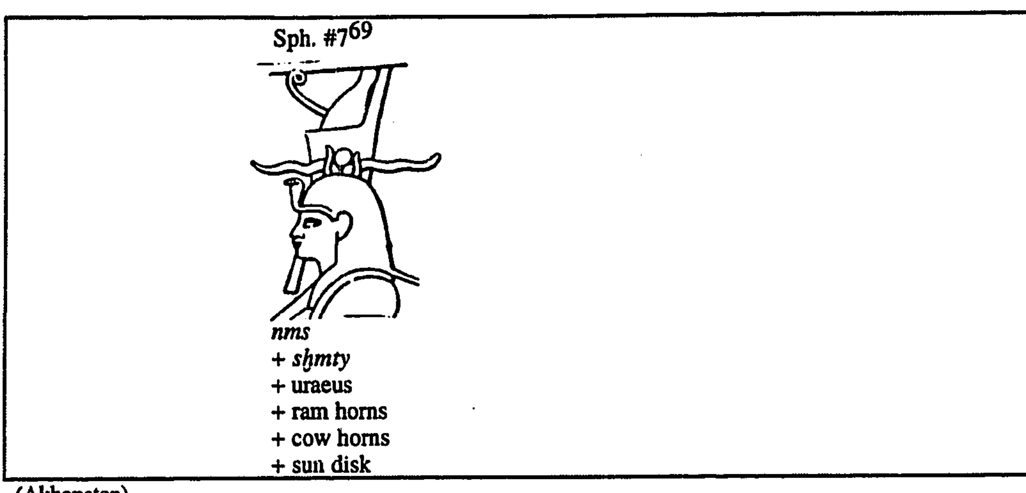


65 J. Leibovitch, "Une nouvelle representation d'une sphinge dela reine Tiy," *ASAE* 42 (1943), fig. 13b.

66 *Ibid.*, fig. 132.

67 T. Save-Soderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (Oxford: C. Batey, 1957), pl. 38.

68 *Ibid.*, pl. 38.



(Akhenaten)

Sph. #10[70]	Sph. #14[71]
Amun Crown + uraeus + sun disk	*ḫ3t* + uraeus

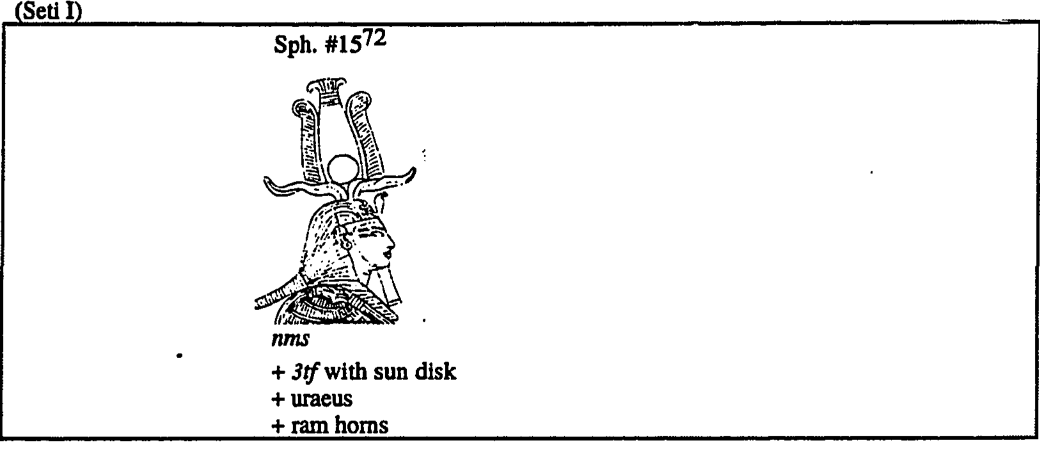
[69] *Ibid.*, pl. 38.

[70] Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, p. 32.

[71] Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* , p. 99.

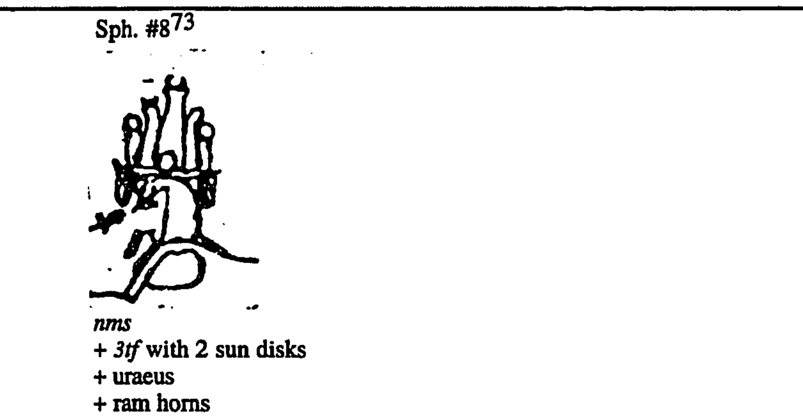
Nineteenth Dynasty:
(Seti I)

Sph. #15[72]



nms
+ *3tf* with sun disk
+ uraeus
+ ram horns

Sph. #8[73]



nms
+ *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ uraeus
+ ram horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ 2 uraei with sun disks and falcons

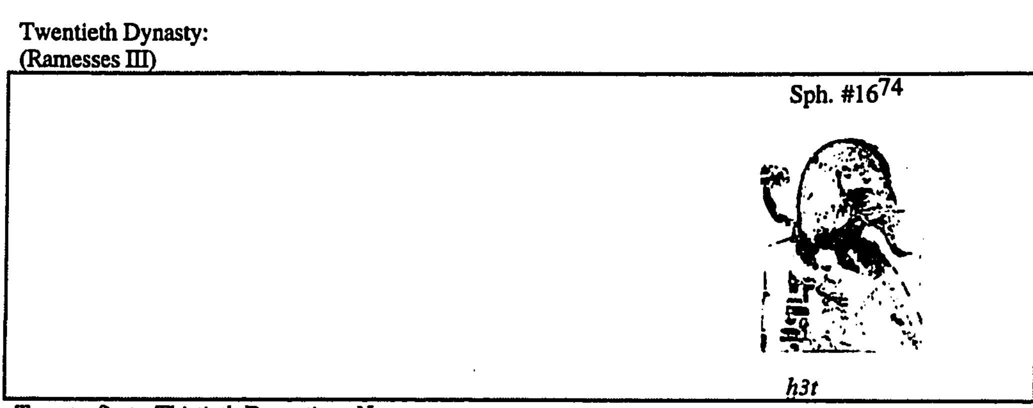
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72 Calverley and Gardiner, *King Sethos I*, v. 2, pl. 18.

73 David, *Religious Ritual*, p. 33.

Twentieth Dynasty:
(Ramesses III)

Sph. #16[74]



ḫ3t

Twenty-first - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

Queens[75]

Type I. Amun Crown	Type II. *ḫprš*	Type III. Other headdresses

First - Seventeenth Dynasties: None
Eighteenth Dynasty:
(Tiy)

Q. #1[76]

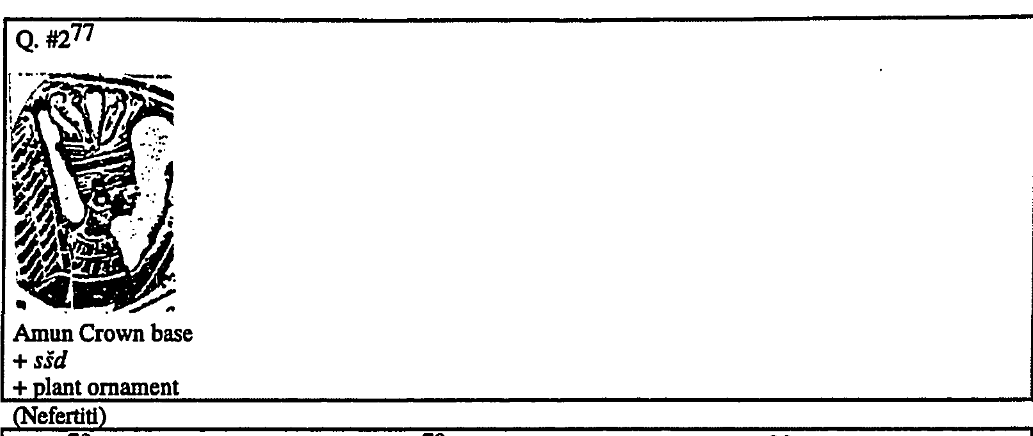
Amun Crown base

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74 Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, v. 2, pl. 20.

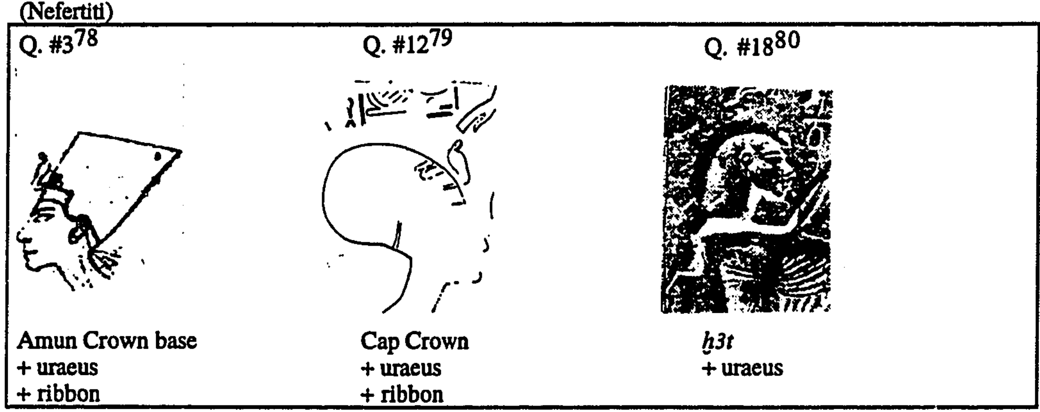
75 Only kingly headdresses worn by queens from the reign of Amenhotep III until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

76 Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, pl. 29.



Q. #2[77]

Amun Crown base
+ *sšd*
+ plant ornament
(Nefertiti)



Q. #3[78]
Amun Crown base
+ uraeus
+ ribbon

Q. #12[79]
Cap Crown
+ uraeus
+ ribbon

Q. #18[80]
ḫ3t
+ uraeus

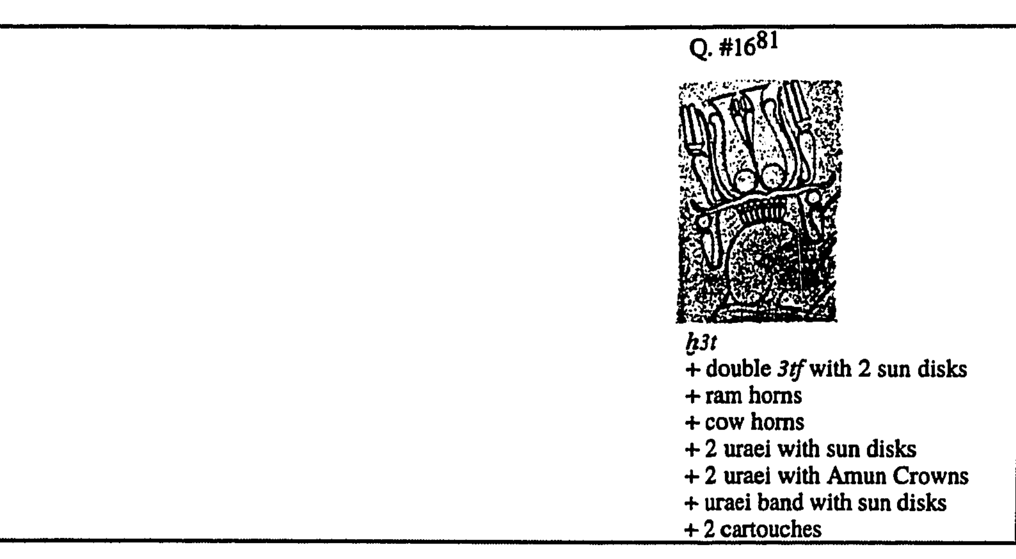
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[77] *Ibid.*, pl. 26.

[78] Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 78.

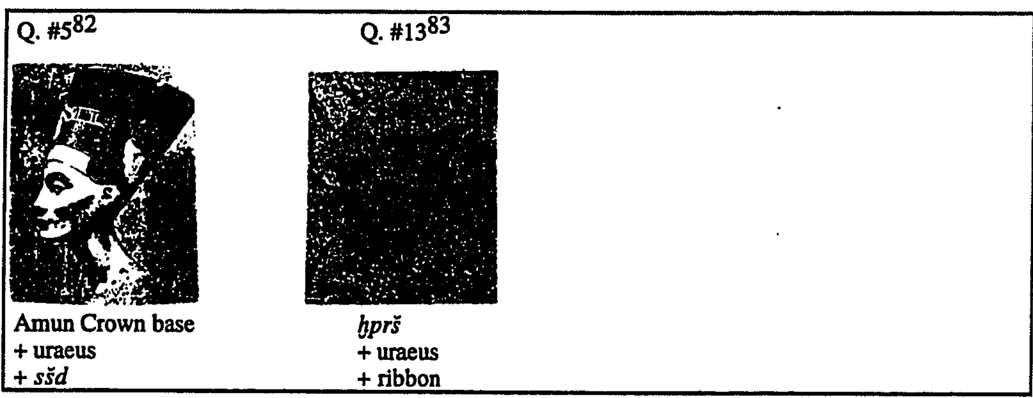
[79] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (Oxford: University Press, 1973), pl. 30.

[80] Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, fig. 33.



Q. #16[81]

ḫ3t
+ double *3tf* with 2 sun disks
+ ram horns
+ cow horns
+ 2 uraei with sun disks
+ 2 uraei with Amun Crowns
+ uraei band with sun disks
+ 2 cartouches



Q. #5[82]

Amun Crown base
+ uraeus
+ *sšd*

Q. #13[83]

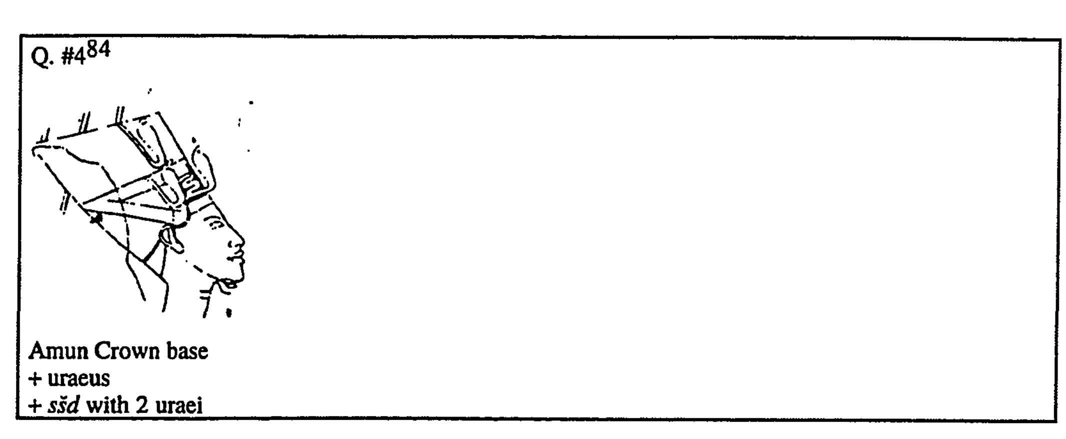
ḫprš
+ uraeus
+ ribbon

[81] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 91.

[82] Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, fig. 52.

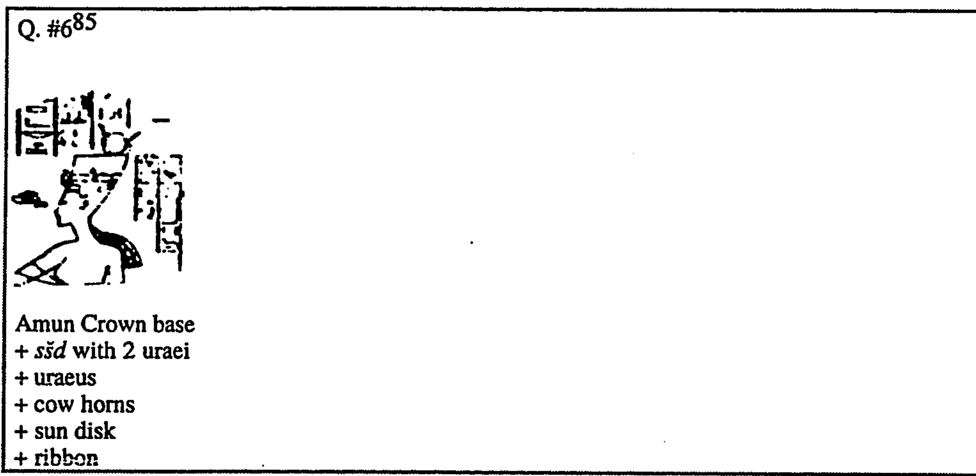
[83] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 101.

Q. #4[84]



Amun Crown base
+ uraeus
+ *sšd* with 2 uraei

Q. #6[85]

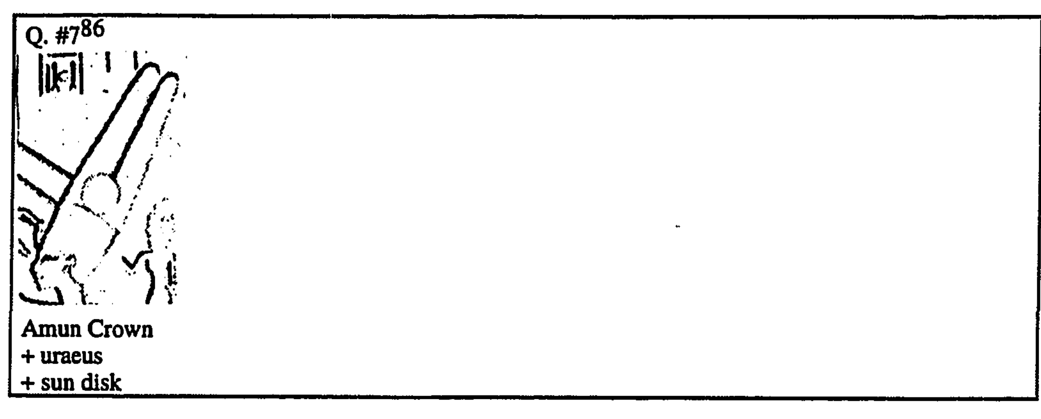


Amun Crown base
+ *sšd* with 2 uraei
+ uraeus
+ cow horns
+ sun disk
+ ribbon

[84] Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 102.

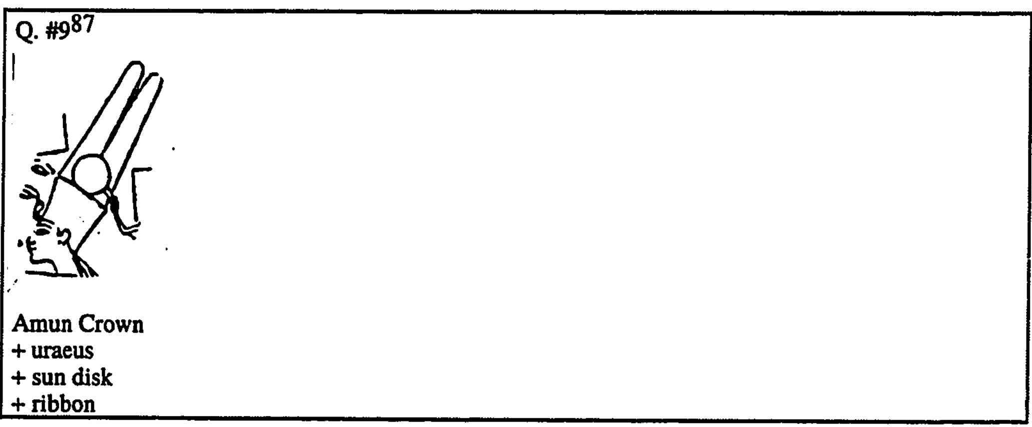
[85] Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, fig. 51.

Q. #7[86]



Amun Crown
+ uraeus
+ sun disk

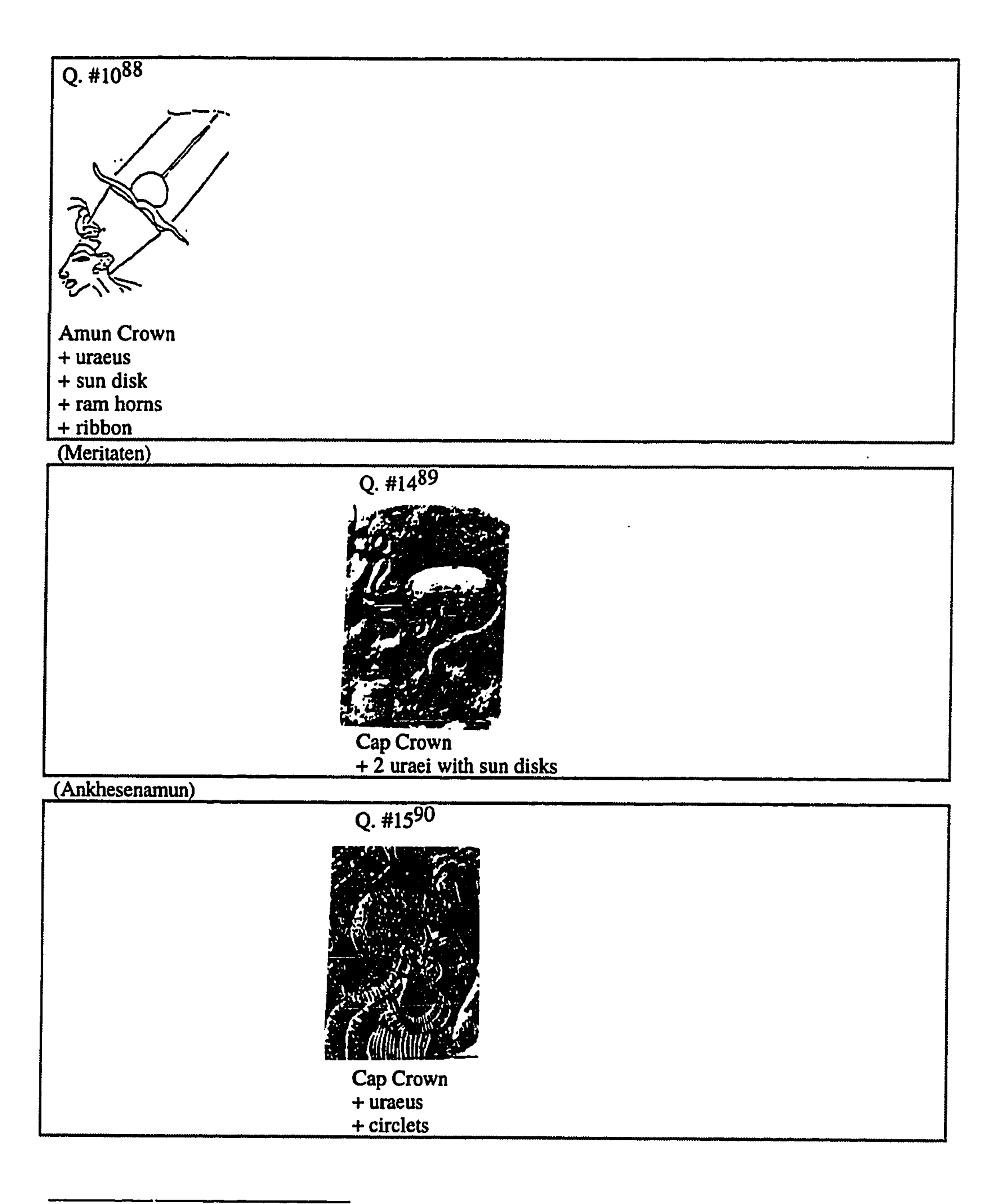
Q. #9[87]



Amun Crown
+ uraeus
+ sun disk
+ ribbon

[86] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v. 3, pl. 110.

[87] *Ibid.*, pl. 295.



Q. #10[88]

Amun Crown
+ uraeus
+ sun disk
+ ram horns
+ ribbon

(Meritaten)

Q. #14[89]

Cap Crown
+ 2 uraei with sun disks

(Ankhesenamun)

Q. #15[90]

Cap Crown
+ uraeus
+ circlets

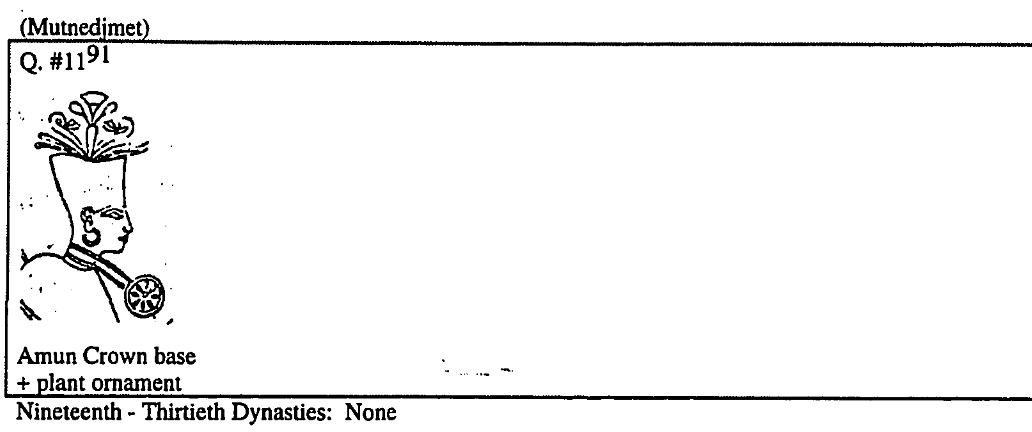
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88 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 116.

89 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, p. 166, pl. 98.

90 Eaton-Krauss and Graefe, *Small Golden Shrine*, pl. 16.

(Mutnedjmet)



Nineteenth - Thirtieth Dynasties: None

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[91] Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, p. 27.

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